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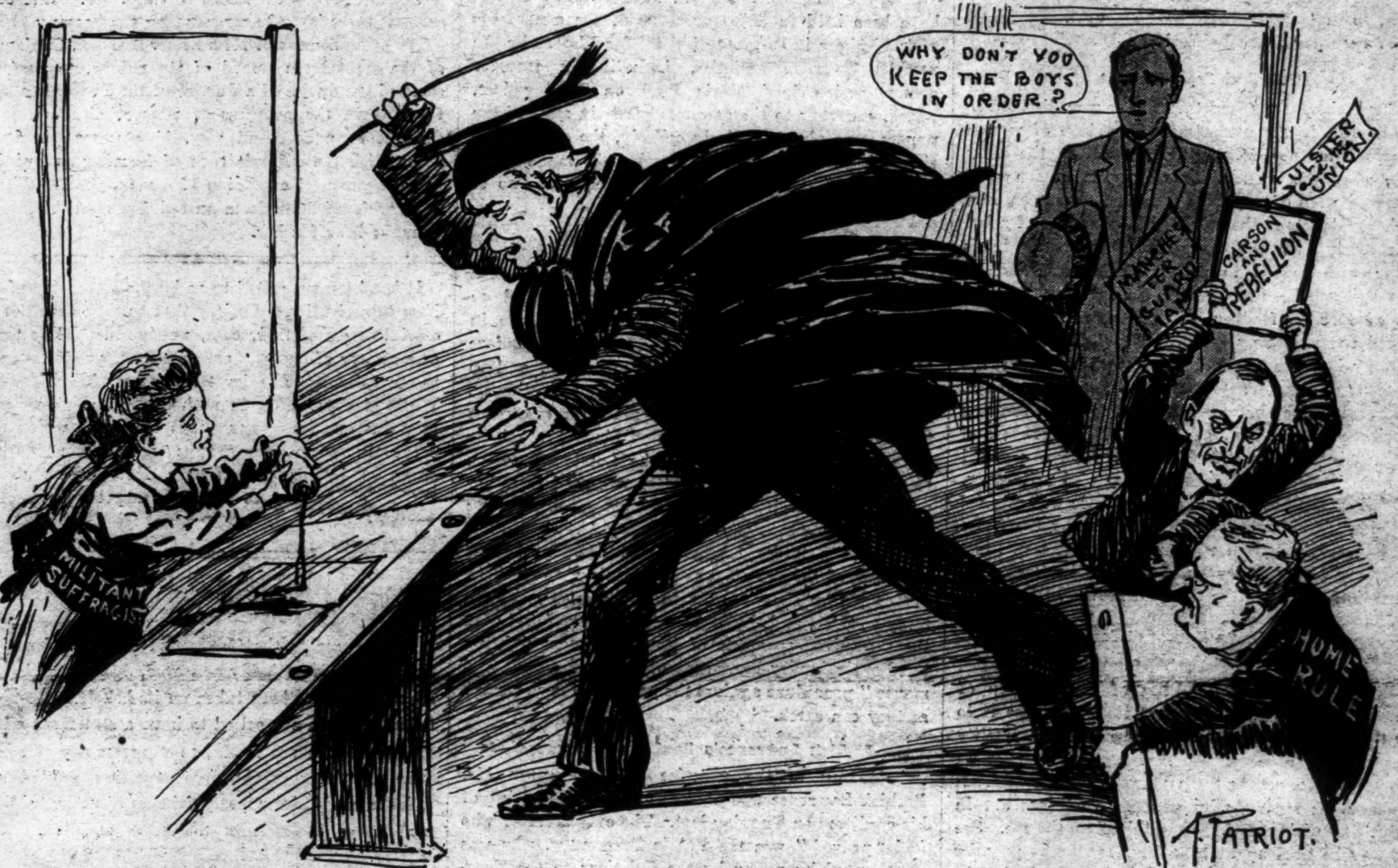
VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

VOL. VI. (New Series), No. 273. FRIDAY, MAY 30, 1913. Price 1d. Weekly (Post Free 1½d.)

BREAKING THE RULES



The "Manchester Guardian" challenges comparison between the "Ulsterettes" and "Suffragettes," and, answering the question as to why the former go unpunished while the latter are prosecuted, hopes that "this insalutary indulgence is now nearly at an end."

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

We have received from the Liberal Publication Department for review a copy of "The Government's Record," being "Seven Years of Liberal Legislation and Liberal Administration." We have looked up in the index the subject of Woman Suffrage and can find no reference to it. As the editors specially ask to be informed of any additions, we feel that we are rendering them a great service by pointing out to them this omission, and they will no doubt be still further indebted to us for supplying them with the necessary facts.

Seven Years of Illiberal Government

We should suggest that the chapter should read as follows: "The remarkable qualities of the Government in handling a difficult problem have been well illustrated by the tactful and evasive methods employed during the last seven years with regard to the delicate question of Woman Suffrage. There has been no wooden-headed devotion to the principles of Liberalism or to any notions about democratic government. Mr. Asquith and his colleagues have had the sense to throw over the doctrine of joint Cabinet responsibility directly it seemed to threaten their joint continuance in office; while that punctilious observance of pledges which is the mark of lesser men has been conspicuous by its absence.

How to Answer a Poser

"The question first presented itself before even the Government was formed. In October, 1905, Sir Edward Grey was confronted in the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, by two women, who, at the close of his speech, when questions were being invited, rose and asked him what the Liberal Government, if it came into power, would do with regard to Woman Suffrage. A maladroit answer at this stage might have had serious consequences. A plain answer, 'Nothing,' would have alienated the support of Liberal women at the approaching election, while a favourable reply might have been held by the more simple-minded of the people as involving some suspicion of discredit if it had not been subsequently carried into effect. Sir Edward Grey was, however, quite equal to the occasion. He preserved a discreet silence. When the question was handed up in writing he smiled, but still gave no answer. And when the women, showing the first signs of that effrontery which has since developed into the modern militant methods, dared to rise again and demand an answer, they were very properly handled pretty roughly by the stewards and flung out into the street, where it is satisfactory to note they were arrested for attempting to hold a meeting of protest, and as a consequence were sent to prison.

The Wisdom of Liberal Stewards

"A still cleverer method of dealing with the awkward pertinacity of questioners was devised by other members of the Cabinet. The speaker, after delivering his main speech, would find that the time had gone faster than he had realised, and that a pressing engagement hurried him elsewhere. This was quite successful until the women began to follow the example of men hecklers and put their questions in the form of interruptions during the speech. Even then the stewards could be counted upon to eject them and to put a few marks upon them which would punish them for their wickedness in reminding Liberal speakers of Liberal principles; but unfortunately some of the audience actually saw a ground of complaint when hair was torn out and arms were twisted and bad bruises inflicted, so that then it was found better to prohibit entirely the admission of women to political meetings.

How to Deal with Deputations of Non-Voters

"One of the difficulties with which Governments are faced is the proper treatment of deputations. Mr. Asquith has shown great courage and discretion in dealing with deputations of women. Realising that as non-voters they could not retaliate through the ballot-box, he hit upon the happy device of refusing altogether to see them. Many a weaker man might have been betrayed into receiving a body of women which included such representative women as Dr. Garrett Anderson, the Mayor of Aldeburgh, and Mrs. Hertha Ayrton, the distinguished scientist. Not so Mr. Asquith, he adopted the courageous expedient of sending out a large body of police to ride them down and (acting under the secret instructions of Mr. Winston Churchill) to knock them about for several hours, so that one of them died of her injuries and others were permanently disabled.

Political Imprisonment

"Successive Home Secretaries have won distinction and renown by their treatment in prison of women concerned in the Suffrage movement. In the early days, when the offences for which the women were sentenced were of a purely technical character, Mr. Herbert Gladstone showed his independence of mind by reversing all the misguided traditions of his father with regard to political offenders, and by meeting the hunger strike with the invigorating process of forcible feeding. His democratic instincts showed themselves by according to Lady Constance Lytton when she suffered imprisonment under the *sobriquet* of Jane Warton totally different treatment from that which she was subjected to when she was imprisoned under her own name. His peerage and his appointment in South Africa were a natural tribute of admiration from his grateful colleagues. Mr. Winston Churchill's tenure of office was marked by the severe censure passed upon him by the Chief Magistrate of London, while Mr. McKenna will live in history as the inventor of the brilliant piece of legislation known as the Cat and Mouse Bill.

A Place in An Honoured Company

"It is not possible in this brief summary to do full justice to the adroit handling of the question of Woman Suffrage in Parliament itself. Suffice it to say that the methods employed, the ready versatility shown would alone entitle Mr. Asquith to take an honoured place among the professors of the confidence trick or the most skilful exponents of that art in which the quickness of the hand deceives the eye. See the way he held up in 1908 the magnificent promise of a free vote on an open amendment of a Bill to be introduced during that Parliament to extend the franchise; see how cunningly the promise was dissipated by the premature dissolution. Again, see how the trick was repeated in the next Parliament, with a similar result.

A Successful Torpedo

"Then when the Conciliation Bill was introduced and secured, in two successive sessions, enormous majorities inside the House and overwhelming support from every part of the country, a more pliable man than the Prime Minister might have yielded. Mr. Asquith appeared to yield, but only to gain more complete success. He promised, with the sure foreknowledge that he would find a means of evading the spirit of his pledge, that the Conciliation Bill (constructed to give the household franchise to women) should have ample time in 1912, and the Government would remain neutral. Yes, but the Government would introduce a Bill of its own to alter completely the whole basis of the male franchise so as to make a household franchise for women look ridiculous. And so, in the combined wisdom of Mr. Asquith and Mr. Lloyd George, the Conciliation Bill was 'torpedoed.'

The Promise that Failed

"Perhaps the master stroke of all was the promise that the great Franchise Bill of 1912 should be so framed as to permit of an amendment to include women. Nearly all the Cabinet were pledged up to the eyes that this should be so. When it turned out that it was framed altogether otherwise, many men would have felt bound to offer all reparation possible to those who had been deceived. Not so the honest men who belong to the present administration. They immediately set to work to devise a new scheme which every Suffragist knew to be utterly unworkable—a fancy Bill which no one wanted to be recommended to the House by a private member and opposed by the Prime Minister—and substituted this for the great opportunity which had failed. Having given a bad sovereign in discharge of a debt, and being apprised of the fact that it was only worth ninepence, they cunningly gave in exchange what passed as a shilling, but what turned out in reality to be a piece of card painted silver. Such methods are the height of political statesmanship, and deserve the everlasting gratitude of a happy and united people!"

Last Week's Suffrage Meetings

We pass from this interesting record of the treatment of Woman Suffrage during the seven years of administration of the Liberal Government, which we offer for the acceptance of the Liberal Publication Department, to the events which have been happening during the past week. Large and successful meetings have been held in different parts of the metropolis and elsewhere in support of Votes for Women by the various Suffrage societies, including a monster demonstration in Victoria Park on Sunday last, which, contrary to the accounts given in most of the papers, was almost entirely orderly, the only exception being a small gang of roughs who made themselves objectionable in the neighbourhood of two of the platforms.

Mrs. Pankhurst Rearrested

Mrs. Pankhurst, who we understand is still in a very weak condition of health, was rearrested on Monday last on attempting to leave her house in Woking to go up to London. She was brought before Mr. Graham Campbell the same afternoon, and in pursuance of his orders was taken away to Holloway. She made a protest in Court against the treatment to which she had been subjected since her release from prison. Meanwhile, at the London Pavilion meeting of the W.S.P.U. a letter was read from her which she had written in view of her possible arrest; in it she congratulated the W.S.P.U. upon their steadfastness under coercion, and declared herself undismayed by what was happening to herself. Inside prison she proposes to adopt once more the hunger strike, and the country is therefore faced with the degrading spectacle of its Government fighting the Revolutionary movement of women by "cat and mouse" procedure against the persons of such women as they can catch.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence's Bankruptcy Proceedings

According to the practice in bankruptcy Mr. Pethick Lawrence was present at the first meeting of his creditors on Tuesday last. The only creditor who had "proved" was the Public Prosecutor, who was represented by proxy by the Solicitor to the Treasury. The proxy was, however, held to be irregular, and the contention of the Treasury Solicitor that he was entitled to use it because both he and the Public Prosecutor were servants of the Crown, and that it was in reality the Crown that was the petitioning creditor was overruled. The meeting was therefore adjourned until Wednesday next.

An Improper Assertion

Previous to the adjournment, however, the Solicitor to the Treasury made a statement which was entirely uncalled for and wholly improper. He stated that however few were the creditors at the present time, there would soon be others, viz., ninety-three, who were claiming in tort. In this assertion, which lay entirely outside his province, he was referring to the actions for damages brought by ninety-three firms in respect of loss alleged to have been suffered by windows being broken. The Official Receiver indicated that he was incorrect, as these ninety-three firms are not in any sense creditors of Mr. Lawrence at the present time, but are plaintiffs in an undecided action in tort. They cannot become creditors unless they win their case against him, and they cannot in any event prove their claims in the present bankruptcy. Those who realise these facts will understand how very serious was the impropriety of the statement made by the Treasury Solicitor. We have only to add that the Press which reported the statement, for the most part failed to report the correction.

Good Wishes to Miss Goldstein

Polling takes place in Australia to-morrow (Saturday) for the Commonwealth Elections. Readers of VOTES FOR WOMEN will be interested in the candidature of Miss Vida Goldstein, who is standing for the constituency of Kooyong in the interests of women. Miss Goldstein is a fearless champion of the English Suffragettes, and makes special reference to them in her election address. Many of our readers will remember the brilliant and thoughtful speeches which she made in this country during the summer and autumn of 1911 in support of the English movement. We wish her all success in her campaign!

Items of Interest

There was a further hearing last Monday of the case against Mr. Whitely, manager of the National Labour Press, who printed the May 9 issue of *The Suffragette*. The case was adjourned until to-morrow (Saturday), when it is expected to be completed.

At Leeds the magistrate decided against Mr. John Scurr, whom the Government are seeking to bind over in consequence of a speech made there some weeks ago. In view, however, of the High Court case with regard to Mr. Lansbury, the magistrate postponed his final decision *sine die*, Mr. Scurr consenting to be bound over pending the hearing.

The appointment of Miss Emily Duncan, Chairman of the West Ham Board of Guardians, to perform some of the duties of a Justice of the Peace, is a step forward in the progress of women, although it is difficult to understand why, if a woman is fit to accomplish the difficult task of forming an opinion upon the mental condition of a man, she should not be considered fit to form an opinion upon his fitness to make laws for her.

It has been suggested to us by the Executive of the New Constitutional Society that as they have not an official organ of their own, we should allot to them, as a matter of business arrangement, a regular space in our columns to be devoted to news of their society. While gladly falling in with this proposal, we wish to point out that expressions of policy which may occur in these paragraphs are not necessarily endorsed by us, nor is the New Constitutional Society committed to opinions expressed in other parts of the paper.

THE FREEDOM OF THE PRESS

Why I am Facing Bankruptcy

The danger to the freedom of the Press by direct suppression is probably now over, due to the vigorous stand which has been taken on its behalf. The Home Office has been compelled to issue a statement admitting that it is not lawful to suppress a paper or to take any proceedings against either publisher or printer except in respect of issues already published containing incitements to crime or other illegal matter.

But the more subtle weapon of financial intimidation is ready to hand, and will undoubtedly, when occasion arises, be used for the purpose of striking a blow at the proprietor, editor, publisher, or printer of any paper not strongly supported. It is in order to make these facts known that I have determined to face bankrutcy. And I am glad to say that many papers are beginning in consequence to realise the danger which threatens them. This is particularly the case with Labour papers, who are likely to be among the first to be hit.

Recapitulating the facts of my own case, it will be remembered that it was in consequence of my position as Editor of VOTES FOR WOMEN that the jury in May of last year gave a verdict against me in the Conspiracy charge involving the members of the militant women's movement. I accordingly went to prison. So far there was nothing to differentiate my case from others who have paid the penalty of taking a part in other rebellious movements. But in consequence of the law passed in 1908 the judge also made an order placing upon Mrs. Pankhurst and myself the whole cost of the prosecution, and this order is now being carried out against me, and is involving my bankruptcy. The inequality and danger of this law, as I have pointed out before, lies in the fact that it is not reciprocal; that while a prisoner found guilty has to pay the costs of the prosecution a prisoner found innocent cannot obtain reimbursement of a single penny of the costs of his defence.

F. W. Pethick Lawrence.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Motto: "Come on! Hold on! Fight on!"

Widespread sympathy with the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN in the financial attack that is being made upon them provides overwhelming evidence that thousands of women and men in the Suffrage Movement are prepared to stand in and manifest their sense of union and fellowship if they can find a practical means of expressing their support.

Our friends were deeply concerned last October when, during our absence in Canada, where we went for restoration of the health that had been undermined by imprisonment, the hunger strike and forcible feeding, bailiffs were put in possession of our home, and after The Mascot had been held up for twelve weeks, a forced sale of all our personal effects was carried out. Now that these high-handed proceedings have been followed up by the bankruptcy of Mr. Pethick Lawrence, by the institution of civil actions of damages to windows, the new attempt to crush the Woman's Movement by the financial persecution of those who are in a position to devote their substance to the prosecution of the campaign is recognised, and some way of turning this menace for evil into a power for good is earnestly desired.

One way we can point out very clearly. It is to let VOTES FOR WOMEN, which represents the Suffrage Movement in its unity and catholicity, partake more and more of the nature of a corporate enterprise.

When the Editors assumed the responsibility of establishing VOTES FOR WOMEN as a non-party and non-sectional political Suffrage review, the paper was being subsidised to the sum of £2,000 a year. That subsidy was lost to the paper when it ceased to be the organ of a definite section of the Movement. This loss can be made good by the determination and the work of the many who are prepared to co-operate with the Editors in the fulfilment of an enterprise which they and we believe to be of immense value to the Suffrage Movement.

The Fellowship has been formed for the main purpose of carrying out a great campaign of propaganda amongst the general public through the medium of VOTES FOR WOMEN. The political argument and the appeal for understanding and support of the Suffrage Movement are addressed to the outsider, who must be brought into touch with the Movement. VOTES FOR WOMEN stands as the connecting link between the army in the field and the great mass of the people whose comprehension of the object of the campaign and whose steadfast friendliness are so essential to success.

For those, therefore, who desire, especially at this critical time, to manifest their sense of comradeship with Mr. Pethick Lawrence, who is bearing the brunt of the Government's financial attack, the most valuable expression of practical support lies in co-operative work for the furtherance of the common enterprise with which the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN are so closely identified.

To come right down to the practical: Let it be the immediate personal business of every reader of this paper to extend its circulation, to increase its value as an advertising medium by dealing with the advertisers, and to widen its appeal to the public by an ever-increasing display of posters and by sale in streets and public places.

Every day brings an increase to the Fellowship. During the past week there have been some very interesting signatures to the Membership Cards, including those of Mrs. Despard (President of the Women's Freedom League), Mrs. Cecil Chapman (President of the New Constitutional Society), and Mr. John Scurr (Chairman of the London District Committee of the Dockers' Union).

The fact that so many representatives of the various societies are joining the Fellowship has forced upon us the reconsideration of our original colours. We have grown so large that the demand by the Fellows for a distinctive badge can no longer be resisted. It is urged with reason that representatives of non-militant societies cannot be expected to wear colours that have become definitely associated with one section of the militant movement only.

Almost every colour combination has been adopted already by the numerous existing societies. After much thought we have decided to add red to our own. It is impossible to drop white for practical purposes. White must enter into every combination wherever large effects are necessary. We are therefore forced to drop green, as the combination red, white, and green is already adopted by one section of the movement. Therefore our official distinctive colours from henceforth will be *purple, white, and red.* The effect of this combination will be seen for the first time in Hyde Park on June 8, when our platform will be decorated with a very simple, but distinctive, banner, with the words, VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship.

Fellows are to be congratulated on the good work which they have done during the past week in making the significance of the Bankruptcy Protest clear to the public. Many have sent letters to local newspapers embodying the articles on this subject already published in VOTES FOR WOMEN, and have secured splendid prominence for a very full and clear statement of the position. In some cases they have been thanked by local editors for clearing up points that were not generally understood. Their example should be widely imitated.

Of the special £100 to pay the expenses of sending VOTES FOR WOMEN to every solicitor and barrister in the country, drawing attention to this Protest, over £80 has been subscribed by our friends and colleagues in the Movement.

Full of hope, full of fight, let us move forward to the ever-hastening hour of the triumph of our faith.

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

The sale has been brisk again this week. One new seller has found the work so interesting and has sold so well that she has persuaded a friend to come forward and sell also. Will many others follow her example?

All those who are willing to sell are asked to communicate with the Organiser, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

"GREETING FROM THE U.S.A."

"Dear Madam,—Could you please send me a few dozen Membership Cards for the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship? I can easily get twelve new Fellows. Last week, at a meeting at which Miss Elsie Mackenzie spoke, I sold over twenty copies of VOTES FOR WOMEN in ten minutes. I could easily have sold twice as many, if I had been able to secure them at such short notice. With best wishes for VOTES FOR WOMEN, *the* best Suffrage paper here or in England.

"I am, yours truly,

"ROBERT H. GARRISON."

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To May 24, 1913.)

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions already acknowledged	368	2	1
Mrs. Rhodes	1	1	0
*Lady C. Lytton ..	0	10	0
Mrs. Raisin	0	5	0
Mrs. Rose	0	2	6
Mrs. A. Woodyatt ..	0	1	0
*Mrs. Hunt	0	10	0
*Mrs. Holiday	0	10	6
*Miss Janie Allan ..	20	0	0
*ANON	5	0	0
Miss C. Hopkins	0	2	6
*Miss F. N. Gordon.	0	10	0
*Mrs. Pethick	1	1	0
Mrs. Sayers	1	1	0
*Miss I. Swain	0	10	0
The Misses Sellek ..	0	2	6
*Miss D. Marriott ..	0	2	0
Profit on Saffron Walden Meeting ..	1	10	0
Mrs. Cecil Chapman	0	10	0
*Miss Nora McMunn	0	10	0
*Miss J. L. Ferrier ..	0	1	0
*Miss Alice Farmer	0	5	0
Miss Mary Millar ..	0	2	6
Mr. and Mrs. W. Stubbs	0	10	0
Miss Grace Stubbs ..	0	5	0
*Mrs. Sacre	0	5	0
*Miss M. Pratt	0	1	0
Miss Rose Farmer ..	0	2	2
Miss Allen Olney ..	4	11	4
*Mrs. Saul Solomon	0	7	6
Miss Edith Downing	0	2	6
Miss Martha Garner	0	2	6
Miss S. Holden	0	2	6
*Mrs. E. M. Clark ..	1	1	0
*Miss L. Lindsay ..	1	0	0
*Miss P. Julian	0	2	0
*Edwin Parr, Esq. ..	1	1	0
Total	412	3	1

* Items marked thus are contributions to the Special £100 Fund for special distribution of the paper.

In addition to the above sums £50 has been subscribed anonymously for the special distribution of literature.

THE LIFE OF A SAINT*

One would gladly know more than it is possible to know about Saint Bride. She is, of course, the great woman figure of the Celtic Church, but she is so interlaced with the legends of almost every time and country that it would seem she must be immortal and omnipresent. She comes to real life as the Abbess of Kildare in the fifth century. But even here there is little definite to learn of her. One would give much to visualise the lives of these early women of the Church. Mr. Wilkie has collected what he could from history and legend, and with immense enthusiasm has packed his little book with tantalising lore.

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* "Saint Bride." By James Wilkie. (The Iona Books. Edinburgh and London: T. N. Foulis. Price 6d. net.)

SMART SPORTS HAT, as sketch, in white bowen straw, underlined with black and various colours, trimmed with ribbon to match, and finished with tiny chiffon berries.

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THE PROGRESS OF WOMEN

IN AUSTRALIA

THE BATTLE OF KOOYONG

Miss Vida Goldstein's Candidature

As we announced last week, Miss Vida Goldstein is standing as a Parliamentary candidate for the Kooyong division (near Melbourne) in the election to the House of Representatives, which takes place to-morrow (Saturday), May 31. The House of Representatives, the Lower House of the Federal Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, is elected by the votes of the adult population—and in Australia "people" means women as well as men. There are at present no women M.P.'s in Australia. Will Miss Goldstein be the first?

A non-party Candidate

Miss Goldstein is standing as the nominee of the Women's Political Association of Victoria, which is non-party. She therefore represents no political party, holding that unswerving allegiance to party may, and often does, militate against usefulness to the State. Her opponent is a Liberal; there is no other candidate in the field.

HER ELECTION ADDRESS

In her election address, Miss Goldstein says:—

"No stone is being left unturned to induce you to vote against me—because I am a woman, because I am a non-party politician, because I am a progressive politician, because I defend the Suffragettes. It is for these very reasons I urge you to vote for me. . . . .

"1. Because I am a Woman.—When we were working for the vote, we were told that we ought not to have it, because we were women. Because we were women was the chief reason why we needed the vote, and it is also the chief reason why women should be in Parliament. . . . Laws affecting women, laws affecting men and women as human beings, laws affecting children, need to be framed by men and women working together. . . . Read the marriage and divorce laws, the laws relating to parental control, the laws and regulations affecting women workers under Commonwealth administration, the laws dealing with defence, tariff, &c., and you will find the injustice, the weakness, the futility of laws for men and women, which result from such laws being framed from the masculine standpoint only.

"2. Because I am a Non-Party Politician.—Party government is out of date. It does not suit modern conditions. It is unbusinesslike, cumbersome, wasteful of public time and public money. It engenders unprincipled actions. In the name of party, men and women will say and do things they could never be guilty of in private affairs. The women who fought for and won the vote in Woman Suffrage countries did not ask for the vote for the sake of indulging in party warfare. They asked for it, and they are using it, for the purpose of bringing a new element into politics—the home element—all the qualities of honesty, purity, principle, and love which make our homes centres of happiness, order, and good government.

"3. Because I am a Progressive Politician.—'The old order changeth, yielding place to new.' We are in a transitional stage of growth, and we must either go forward consciously, or be swept along the path of progress by forces too strong for us. The existing social, industrial, and political systems were devised for a time when 'Privilege' was the watchword of the citizen. To-day, 'Justice' is the watchword, and thinking men and women the world over see plainly that existing systems are not based on justice. I believe it is the simple duty of each one of us to make justice and love the foundation of all relationships, individual and collective.

"4. Because I Defend the Suffragettes.—Those to whom intuition or the knowledge of the facts do not give an understanding of the inner meaning of the civil war now raging in England take the English and Australian Press as their guides on the question. They honour the Barons at Runnymede; they honour Hampden and Pym, and all who fought and died for the principle that 'taxation without representation is tyranny'; they honour Joan of Arc, they honour the heroes that fought against slavery in America, they honour the heroes of the past, but they 'lack the living eyes to see' the heroes of the present. They defend the destruction of *life and property* in the cause of freedom when it is wrapped in the shroud of history, but they denounce the destruction of *property only* for the cause of freedom to-day. They cannot read history in the making. . . . .

"The Suffragettes are fighting for the vote to enable them to fight the White Slave Traffic. They are fighting for you and me, for women everywhere. . . . You have read everything there is to be said against the Suffragettes. Will you now read Mrs. Pankhurst's speech before her last arrest, and an article by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, entitled 'The Mother Creature at Bay,' which we are distributing in leaflet form throughout the electorate? Read these, and I believe you will think twice before you identify yourselves with those who condemn the Suffragettes for rising in rebellion against the intolerable, unspeakable conditions under which women and children live. . . . .

"I ask you for *Justice*—for justice for half the adult citizens of Kooyong, of Victoria, or Australia; for, if elected on May 31, I should consider myself the special representative of women throughout the Commonwealth.—Yours faithfully,

"Vida Goldstein."

MISS GOLDSTEIN'S PROGRAMME

The principal planks in her platform are as follows:—

1. Equal marriage and divorce laws for men and women, and equal custody and guardianship of children.
2. Raising the age of marriage. Under the present law a girl of twelve is permitted to marry.
3. Equal pay for equal work—to be statutory and not subject to judicial decisions.
4. Equal opportunities for men and women in the Commonwealth Public Service, which at present puts obstacles in the way of women's admission and promotion.
5. Amendment of the Naturalisation Act, to enable women to retain their citizenship throughout the Empire and prevent them losing their civil rights and their nationality on leaving Australia.
6. Protection of deserted wives and children.
7. Protection of women and girls against the White Slave Traffic by bringing immigration and emigration under Commonwealth control.

Miss Vida Goldstein's general programme further includes many progressive reforms, such as the abolition of party government which will lead to the election of the most capable men and women to the administration of public departments.

THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN

Miss Margaret Hodge, who is helping Miss Goldstein in her campaign, sends us an interesting account of it, saying that it consists of (1) canvassing from house to house, of which the distinctive feature is "that the maid who opens the door to the canvasser is a voter as well as her mistress, and is generally keenly interested in political questions. Unlike the politicians at home, she is eager to hear both sides of the question, and lends a ready ear to what the advocates of the different members have to urge."

2. Open-air meetings, which "draw large crowds, partly on account of their novelty, for no other candidate has yet attempted them, and partly because of the delightful atmosphere in this lovely climate, where both men and women are always out to enjoy the exquisite evening air under the star-spangled sky."

3. Public meetings in halls, which are crowded with men and women. Overflow meetings, which are unheard of as a rule, except when a member of the Government is speaking, have been a feature of Miss Goldstein's election campaign; and the questions put have been full of interest and political acumen. Fair play is always given to the women voters, who are, indeed, urged to give expression to their views.

Miss Goldstein's Chances

It is difficult to say, continues Miss Hodge, what Miss Goldstein's chances are of election on Saturday. The Press, which gave fairly good accounts of her opening meeting, have boycotted all her others, although they are by far the best attended in the constituency. Her non-party attitude puzzles the average male elector; the women voters are more inclined to back her up in this matter, though even among them there are some who have already got caught in the meshes of party politics. Lastly, her courageous championship of the English Suffragettes in the face of the hostile and misrepresenting cables in the papers, has prejudiced some few of the electors, who do not know the truth about the English movement. But, says Miss Hodge apropos of this, "As many of the electors admire Miss Goldstein's pluck in standing for Parliament, possibly her advocacy of the Suffragettes will ultimately gain the appreciation it deserves as a proof of her disinterestedness and her indomitable courage."

IN AMERICA

PROGRESS IN AMERICA

AMENDMENT IN CONGRESS

The movement in America has naturally received an impetus from the decision arrived at by the U.S. Senate Committee on Woman Suffrage, which reported recently in favour of an amendment to the National Constitution forbidding disfranchisement on account of sex.

MORE REFORMS IN CALIFORNIA

Age of Consent Raised to Eighteen

In addition to the laws already mentioned in these columns as having been passed by the Californian Legislature since women won their vote in that State, chief among which is the Joint Guardianship of Children Act, we are glad to be able to record the passing of the very important Bill to raise the age of protection for girls from sixteen to eighteen. In England this still stands at sixteen. Other Bills recently passed in California relate to mothers' pensions, the establishment of a State Industrial School for girls, and the widening of the eight-hour law so as to make it apply to more women and girls, and to boys under eighteen.

SUFFRAGE DEBATE IN FLORIDA

Although the Suffrage amendment to the constitution was lost in the Lower House of the Florida Legislature by 26 votes to 38 on May 2, American Suffragists are jubilant at the advance made in a State where the Legislature has never before seriously considered the question. On this occasion intense excitement prevailed, every bit of available space in the House was taken by women, who even extended right back to the stairway, and the greatest indignation prevailed among them when Senator Acosta declared that there was no Southern woman who wanted a vote. One touch of "anti" makes the whole world kin!

AMERICAN WOMEN VOTERS AND MR. McKENNA

Mrs. Clara Moore, Corresponding Secretary of the Women's Political League in San Francisco, has sent us the copy of a letter that has been forwarded to Mr. McKenna, informing him that a meeting was held by the Women's Political League on April 23, 1913, when a resolution was adopted, protesting against the sentence of three years' imprisonment passed on Mrs. Pankhurst, and asking for her release and that of all Suffragettes undergoing sentences in prison. If this be not granted, the resolution further demands that they shall be treated as political offenders, their militancy being actuated by pure motives in order to gain enfranchisement on equal terms with men for the women of England. The resolution also calls upon the Government to introduce this session a measure giving the Parliamentary franchise to all women.

MRS. BLATCH ON MILITANCY

At the mass meeting held by the Women's Political Union, after the Suffrage Parade in New York on May 3, Mrs. Harriet Stanton Blatch said in the course of her speech that she was neither a Quaker nor a non-resistant, but the descendant of an ancestress who had loaded guns for her men to shoot their country's enemy; therefore she did not disapprove, per se, of violence in a good cause, but she disapproved of any attempt at militancy in America, because there the most effective method was by the modern weapons of peace. In England, however, she blamed the Government more than the women. She said:

"Let our condemnation fall with its full weight on the Government, which has proved itself weak, vacillating, and a breaker of every pledge that it has made. It has no consistent policy. It closes the militants' headquarters one day, and pulls down their flag, and the next day lets them reopen their headquarters and put up their flag again. The British Government does one thing to-day and another to-morrow, but never the right thing—the one bit of justice that would put an end to all the trouble."

"SHOULD AMERICAN SUFFRAGISTS CONDEMN MILITANCY?"

This is the question discussed very ably and broadly by "A. S. B." in the *Woman's Journal* (Boston) for May 17. In America, as in England, it seems, Suffragists are continually being urged to pass resolutions against militancy in England. As A. S. B. points out, this would not stop militancy in England, and the English militants, being on the spot, "may be supposed to understand the situation." She also says, very wisely:—

"If we feel it needful to put in our oar, it is more fitting to protest against the cause of the trouble than against its symptoms. The cause is the long continued denial of justice to women. . . . Both the British Government and the British militants are using unethical methods; but the sins of the Government have been by far the heavier of the two. . . . It is impossible to look on without emotion at this duel between a handful of courageous women and a bunch of stubborn politicians. . . . Nor is the duel so unequal as it looks at first sight. Rather, the real inequality is the other way. It is young David against big Goliath."

A Fine Quotation

The writer concludes with a fine quotation from Wendell Phillips, in which he says: "You may build your Capitol of granite, and pile it high as the Rocky Mountains; if it is founded on or mixed up with iniquity, the pulse of a girl will in time beat it down."

TWO AMERICAN PRESS VIEWS OF MILITANCY

The thing to consider is the spirit of these suffrage women. It is the spirit of British protest against wrong of which every Briton has boasted for many generations. It is the spirit that has been glorified in the fathers and sons, but is now condemned in the mothers and daughters. And it is a spirit that will persist until victory is won, else all British precedent in human nature and racial characteristic must go for nothing. It is strong in the male. It is even stronger in the female. This suffrage spirit is simply irresistible. Nothing can stay it but the satisfaction of its just demands.—**Saskatchewan Daily Star.**

The Irish Nationalists have seen the Belfast riots and a Cabinet Minister forbidden the Ulster hall. It would be a little difficult to compare this with persistent questioning of Cabinet Ministers and cries of "Votes for Women," at the expense of the eloquence of members of Parliament. Half a dozen women trying to push their way through the policemen to present a petition to the King, which, be it said, is a peculiarly constitutional method, are met with arrest and accusations of insult; the rush of the Socialists, behind Mr. Burns, into Trafalgar Square, on Bloody Sunday, is the prelude to a seat in the Cabinet. The logic of events is stronger than the logic of men.—**Christian Science Monitor (Boston).**

A REPLY TO THE MAYOR OF NEW YORK

To the Editors of Votes for Women.

Dear Editors,—The Mayor of New York is evidently under the impression that we have in England 1½ millions of women who cannot find husbands.

The number of surplus women is usually stated as 1,000,000. When the census is taken, however, does it not leave out all absent regiments of soldiers, the officers and crews of steamers and naval vessels, absent fishermen, and all husbands earning their livelihood abroad? Of this latter class there is an immense number with wives and families at home; a large proportion of the young emigrants are engaged to girls in the homeland, and those not making choice before departure often return to marry the English girl. This is especially the case in Cornwall and parts of Devon. In the Cornish mining villages nearly all the husbands and sweethearts are at work on the South African mines.

Another point. Women live longer than men. The fact that after a certain age there are twice as many old women as old men is worthy of consideration. The Census shows that two-thirds of the total excess of females over males are widows.

Surely, even in this country, it would be difficult to find many women to whom an offer of marriage had never come. Some women do not wish to marry.

The writer is a non-militant; but is Mr. Gaynor aware that many of the most active militant workers are married women, and a large proportion of the members quite young girls?—Yours, &c.,

C. B.

London, S.W.

EVEN IN HUELVA

The Commandant of Huelva shows more political wisdom than the Prime Minister of Great Britain. According to a Reuter telegram, a miner who had assaulted an official of the Rio Tinto Mines during a recent strike was to have been brought before the Commandant of gendarmerie at Huelva on May 22. The angry wives of the miners of some three districts crowded on to the line and stopped the train that was conveying the prisoner, and, adds the cable, "their attitude was so threatening that it was decided to postpone the examination of the miner. *Calm has apparently been restored.*"

If Suffragettes must be deported, let it be to Huelva!

WOMEN'S FIGHT WITH THE GOVERNMENT

MR. McKENNA IN WALES

A Tsar's Progress

Last week the Home Secretary went to Wales to speak on Welsh Disestablishment—and spoke on militant Suffrage. At least, that is the one portion of his utterances that scarcely a newspaper failed to report in full. Welsh Disestablishment, indeed, figures very little in the Press accounts of his tour. for these concern themselves mainly with the extraordinary precautions taken by the police to prevent anyone from approaching Mr. McKenna. At Cardiff, we read, he was accompanied on to the platform by one detective; at Holyhead the guard seems to have been doubled, and he spoke with one on each side of him, while the hall, the windows of which were barricaded, was completely surrounded outside with a cordon of police. Three detectives accompanied him on his journey to Holyhead, and on his arrival there a large body of police kept the crowd outside the station until the Home Secretary was conveyed out of reach in a motor-car. The Press accounts naïvely add: "The journey was without incident," and "There was no demonstration of any kind." The splendid isolation of a Tsar's progress does not lend itself readily to "incident" or "demonstration."

There were both, however, at Cardiff on Wednesday evening in last week, when Mr. McKenna, having failed to appear at the Congress in the afternoon on account of expected Suffragist demonstrations, endeavoured to address a meeting composed of delegates, police in plain clothes, stewards to the number of 500, and three members of the general public, who wanted to know when the Government was going to do justice to women. Outside the hall similar members of the general public, crowded out of the meeting by stewards and detectives, found plenty to do in distributing a savagely true cartoon by Will Dyson of the Home Secretary forcibly feeding a Suffragette. (We give below a reproduction of this leaflet.)

The Inevitable Question

The nervousness of the principal speaker was patently apparent when he rose to address the meeting. As nothing occurred, however, he warmed to his task, and was just getting into his stride with a fine Liberal utterance about the long overdue debts that the Government was now paying off, when there came the inevitable question from the back of the hall: "When are you going to pay your debt to the women?" The usual uproar and ejection followed; and then from the platform itself—some accounts say from the interior of the organ—the cry of woman's freedom again rang out, and showers of leaflets bearing the Forcible Feeding cartoon rose into the air and settled down upon the speaker. Each time that an interrupter was ejected, the same shower of leaflets was scattered over the person of the Home Secretary. Finally, when a loud report outside the hall caused the whole audience to jump and ejaculate, "Bombs! They've done it at last!" the speaker gave up the attempt to interest his hearers in their National Church, and spoke on the vital question of the hour. To any student of history, sociology, or psychology, it was an amazing conclusion to a British Minister's speech.

"If these women secure the franchise by militant methods," he is reported to have said, "they would secure a vote in a Constitution and among a people where a vote would not be worth having. They have begun at the wrong end. The British people must first of all be convinced by reason. It is no precedent which they recall when they speak of the violent acts committed in past years at a time preceding the extension of the franchise to males. Even if that were a precedent, a precedent of crime fifty years ago is no justification for crime to-day. But at least, when those crimes were committed they were the crimes of a majority restrained by the minority in power. Let the leaders of the militant movement prove first that they have a majority behind them, even of women, and then for the first time could they with effect quote this evil precedent as an example. But they have no history or reason to justify them, and I know that I shall not appeal in vain to any audience of men or women when I ask that firm and constant support which is essential to the due preservation and maintenance of law and order."

Reply to Mr. McKenna.

Miss Underwood, Secretary of the Women's Freedom League, has sent the following letter to the Press in answer to Mr. Mr. McKenna's pronouncement:—

"In consideration of the Limehouse speeches of Mr. Lloyd George, the rise to power of Mr. John Burns after the breaking down of Hyde Park railings, and his six weeks' imprisonment for the part he took in Trafalgar Square on Bloody Sunday, and the long militant record of the present Government's Irish colleagues, it is singularly inept of Mr. McKenna to criticise women 'who endeavour to further a political cause by violence!' If Mr. McKenna would spend time in becoming 'closely acquainted' with the workings of the department for which he is responsible, he might be able to render impossible such scandals of prison van accommodation as were exposed recently by two members of the Women's Freedom League. Mr. McKenna may hold what opinion he pleases about the influence of militants on the cause they have at heart, but few people will fail to recognise that Mr. McKenna's ridiculous attempts to coerce women who have a legitimate grievance into submission have brought nothing but discredit both upon himself and the office he fills. In his endeavour to repress Free Speech and a Free Press, Mr. McKenna has shattered any respect we had for his idea of the law, and so long as this Liberal Government is in power to override the rights and liberties of the British people, just so long will militant suffragists hold the law and its administration in the profoundest contempt."

CAT AND MOUSE ACT—FOR SUFFRAGISTS ONLY

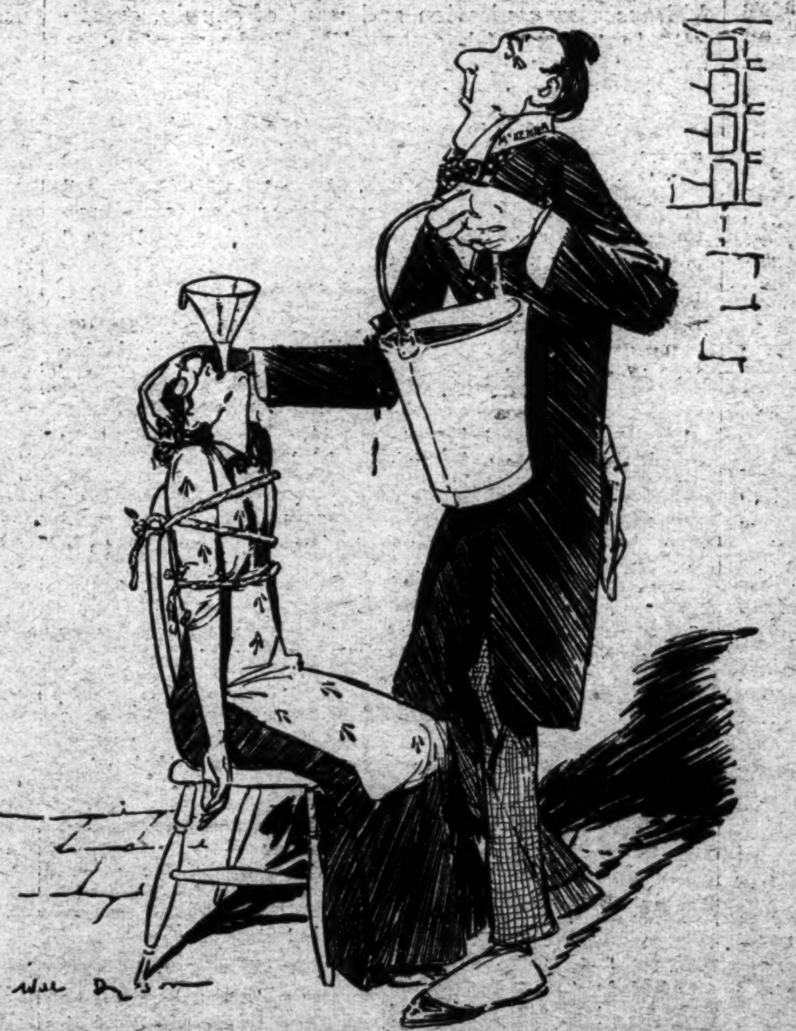
It is as well to remember, now that Mrs. Pankhurst has been sent back to the hunger strike in prison, that Edward Buckton Cargill, who was discharged from prison the other day, also on the grounds of ill-health, was apparently not released under the Cat and Mouse Act, and will therefore not be re-arrested. Yet the purity of Mrs. Pankhurst's motives for her offence of incitement is acknowledged universally, whereas Mr. Cargill was sentenced for criminally assaulting girls under sixteen years of age. It is because of the tolerance shown towards crimes of this sort that Mrs. Pankhurst and many hundreds of Suffragettes have passed through the dock since 1905.

PRESS COMMENTS

The *Nation*, commenting on Mr. McKenna's criticisms of militancy, remarks with considerable point: "All this is true and pertinent, but to complete the parallel it is necessary to recall the fact that the Government of 1831 were not deterred by outrage from passing the Bill of 1832."

The *Globe*, in a leading article entitled "Machiavelli Manque," says:—"Nobody, we are afraid, will be much impressed by these unexceptionable sentiments when they see that the Minister who uttered them, and who, as it happens, is himself chiefly responsible for the preservation of order, can be frightened out of attending a gathering of his own supporters. We regret to be obliged to say that this exhibition of the better part of valour is a damning indictment of the Minister's capacity to govern. . . . The Government, it is clear, can neither persuade the wild women nor compel them, nor even punish them when they openly flout and defy the laws. . . . At every turn the militants make him look more and more ridiculous. That would not matter were it not that with him they bring the whole administration of the law into contempt. The thing is growing intolerable."

The *Globe* goes on to condemn the Government heartily for its treatment of the whole question. "Their lack of courage," it says, "has become a by-word, but their lack of honesty is equally conspicuous. We hate and detest the abominable antics of the militants, but we are compelled to admit that the supporters of Women's Suffrage have every reason to complain of the manner in which Ministers have tricked them again and again. The recent history of Women's Suffrage in Parliament from the introduction of the original Franchise Bill to the defeat of the measure introduced by Mr. Dickinson has been one long story of discreditable manœuvres. . . . Is it, then, any wonder that the hysterical among them felt exasperated beyond endurance? It is the less wonder when they discover that the Ministers who cannot be persuaded can very easily be frightened."



"FOR WHAT YOU ARE ABOUT TO RECEIVE . . ."

[Mr. McKenna, Forcible-Feeder-in-Chief to the Cabinet, has described with moving candour the loving and chivalrous care, the almost pious delicacy, with which the Government treats those of its Suffragist enemies who fall into its tender hands.]

McKENNA, F.-F.-in-C. (to the World at Large):—

"Observe how we treat every case
With the chivalrous tact of our Race—
How before we proceed
To forcibly feed,
We NEVER omit to say Grace!"

(With acknowledgments to the "Daily Herald")

SIR VICTOR HORSLEY AND THE HOME SECRETARY

Sir Victor Horsley, F.R.C.S., F.R.S., has sent us a letter in which he attacks "Mr. McKenna's administration of the Home Office by *lettre de cachet*." He begins by saying—

"The incredible not infrequently proves to be the fact. Mr. Bernard Shaw has recently stated that in his opinion Mr. McKenna should be examined by a commission of medical experts because it has been evident that he is labouring under the delusion that he is the Czar. The following incident shows that Mr. McKenna's delusions of personality hover between the Czar and Richelieu, and I hope that something remedial will be undertaken before any further injury is inflicted on public liberty or on the great principles of the Liberal party.

"On March 16 a medical report and criticism was published by Mr. Mansell-Moullin and myself on the case of Miss Lenton, who, having been nearly killed by forcible feeding, was released (illegally?) by Mr. McKenna in a condition, as he himself said, of 'imminent death.' On March 18 Mr. McKenna made a personal attack, concerning this report, on myself in the House of Commons, as he was well aware I could not follow him in the debate and give his hearers the true facts of the case. I have since been engaged in a correspondence with him, inviting him to justify or withdraw his unfavourable descriptions of our veracity, but after many evasions he has refused to fulfil this elementary obligation of public life."

Sir Victor Horsley then proceeds to state that the Home Secretary has followed up his attack upon him by lodging accusations against him at the Royal College of Surgeons, of which he declines to furnish Sir Victor Horsley with the particulars. The letter concludes by saying: "We certainly have to go back in history to find a parallel case of a Minister of the Crown endeavouring to suppress scientific free speech and criticism by secret intrigue. . . . It must be obvious that no Minister of the Crown would have made such a spectacle of his office by this insane attack on free speech unless he were afflicted with the idea that he was Richelieu or in some sort of way endowed with his spirit and method of ruling."

"THE SCANDAL OF THE PRISON VAN"

Miss Nina Boyle, whose trenchant article on "The Scandal of the Prison Van" appeared in last week's Votes for Women, has sent us a copy of the correspondence which has passed on the subject between her and Sir Edward Henry, Chief Commissioner of Police, from which it appears that he is as anxious to shift the responsibility for the whole affair on to the shoulders of the Prison Commissioners as the Home Secretary and the Governor of Holloway Gaol are to shift it on to those of the Police Commissioner. The upshot of the correspondence is that Sir Edward Henry has declined to receive a deputation from the Women's Freedom League for the purpose of discussing the matter, on the grounds that he "is causing enquiry to be made at the instance of the Prison Commissioners" into the complaints that have been lodged with regard to the conveyance of men and women in the same prison van, and that it would therefore "obviously be improper for him to intervene." A further request for an interview has not been answered.

"Secret and Official"

Miss Boyle supposes, not without reason, that the "investigation will be of the usual secret and official kind," and makes the following appeal to our readers:

"I should be most grateful if any Suffrage prisoners could find time to send me details of these or kindred experiences, either in prison vans, police-station cells, or other places where conditions have been uncleanly or unseemly, or treatment improper. Especially do we want to know more about the various police-stations, the kind of bedding supplied (Mr. McKenna has described it as 'suitable'), and the regulations for seeing friends or solicitors when awaiting trial without bail.

Remand Conditions

"Statements about remand conditions would also be valued, both from men and women prisoners. A statement as to the verminous and otherwise insanitary state of country detention cells and provincial prisons has reached me, and I should like more information on this subject. It would also appear from accounts of Scottish trials that grave abuses flourish north of the Tweed, and though Mr. McKinnon Wood has not taken refuge in the point-blank denials of Mr. McKenna, and has promised enquiry, I feel that it is a matter that should also engage the attention of Suffrage reformers.

"May I through your columns appeal to all prisoners of any Society who, while themselves engaged in strenuous protests, may be glad to have these matters fully and searchingly dealt with, to supply me with all available matter for investigation.—Very faithfully yours,

"C. Nina Boyle.

"Women's Freedom League, 1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C."

WOMEN, WAR AND ADVENTURE

Three New Books

WOMEN IN THE BOER WAR*

One of the many remarkable things about this Boer book is that its Introduction is written by my old friend, Mr. Patrick Duncan. The author was a Boer patriot of patriots. Up to the very last she did the utmost in her power to thwart or defeat the British arms, and till the hated peace came, she never despaired of her country's freedom. Even before the end of the war Mr. Duncan was Treasurer of the Transvaal under Lord Milner's Government, and he retained that difficult position for some years, I think till a form of constitution was instituted. His unfailing sense of justice and absolute integrity well qualified him for the work, but still it seems strange to me, who lived through the bitter years of the war, to find him calmly writing a preface to one of the most Anti-English, or rather entirely Boer, books ever printed. He explains that he does not associate himself with the author's opinions on many important points; but he adds that "fortunately for South Africa, most of us on both sides can now discuss the events of the war without bitterness, and understand and respect the feelings of those who were most sharply divided by these events from ourselves."

Ten years ago such a change seemed impossible. What has brought it about? Simply and solely the wisdom and flexibility of that great Prime Minister who preceded the unwise and wooden-headed Prime Minister of to-day. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman said, "Let there be self-government; give Boer and Briton an equal franchise with equal political rights"; and the deadly breach was healed. If such a man had but lived, how different would the temper of our public life be now!

The Women's Service

The book's title is rather misleading. A good many Boer women fought side by side with the men. I got to know one of them after the peace, and two or three were killed, at Pieter's Hill and I think elsewhere. But there was no woman's Commando or armed force. The women's service as described in this book lay in sheltering the Boer spies who entered Pretoria during the British occupation, and in supplying the Boer Commandos on the veldt with information and stores, especially clothes and dynamite. The author, who writes of herself throughout in the third person as "Hansie," was then a young and high-spirited girl, living with her mother in their private house of "Harmony," round the large garden of which the British camps of Headquarter Staff, Military Police, and other departments were closely planted. In my various sojourns in Pretoria, how often I must have passed that quiet house and garden without an inkling of the intense excitement, the suppressed anguish of apprehension, and the clever ruses of war that they often concealed! They were so surrounded by our men, the ladies were so charming and well-received by high authorities, they spoke such excellent English, grew such excellent fruit, and were always so pleasant to man and beast, it was absurd to suppose their home was the most dangerous of the enemy's positions near the capital.

Women in Camps

I must say the British soldier, both officer and private, comes out of the story rather well. The chief praise is due to General Sir John Maxwell, the Military Governor of Pretoria, of whose politeness and friendly consideration a true and charming picture is given. He was so honourable himself, and so anxious to give assistance, that it went to the author's heart to deceive him. In fact, as her patriot's work became more and more serious, she almost ceased to visit him, partly because it seemed a shame, partly lest his friendliness should weaken her resolution. And the "Tommy"—certainly, he was not a giant of intellect. A policeman could almost beat him as a detective. But with what quiet sympathy he would turn away and pretend to be otherwise occupied during tender scenes of meeting and parting, especially when prisoners or people in danger were concerned! It is good to remember that the hideous crimes of the Concentration Camps and their fatal mismanagement were not due to soldiers.

Over 20,000 women and children were sacrificed to that atrocious system before there was even a serious attempt at reform. I have forgotten the exact figures, but I believe it is an understatement to say that four times as many Boer women and children died owing to the war as Boer men. And yet there are still members of Parliament who say women should be excluded from a voice in politics because they have no part in war! If these good gentlemen think women would be more cowardly and soft-hearted than their courageous selves, let them read one sentence from the terrible chapter on the Concentration Camps:—

> In nine cases out of ten, the earnest request of the women in the camps to their men was to fight to the bitter end—not to surrender on their account, but to let them die in captivity sooner than yield for the sake of them and their children.

The Traitors

At the final peace conference we were told that it was the terrible suffering and mortality among the women and children that drove the Burghers to accept the terms. Some, I know, gave that as their reason, though they were not the best among the names. But Mrs. Brandt attributes the collapse to the treachery of the National Scouts, those "Judas-Boers," who betrayed their countrymen and took service with the enemy. I don't know whether to compare them to the women "Antis" of to-day, or to the Liberal women who support Mr. Asquith for family advantage. What kind of life has been theirs since they turned traitor, I cannot imagine. But the author says of them:—

> They broke our strength. Not by their skill in the use of arms, not by their knowledge of our country and our methods. No! They broke our strength by breaking our ideals, by crushing our enthusiasm, by robbing us of our inspiration, our faith, our hope.

It is a fine book, fine in its spirit, its humour, and its accuracy; of special interest, no doubt, to those who, like myself, were present at the scenes, but of deep interest also to everyone who has a high and dangerous cause to fight in the midst of enemies.

H. W. N.

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* The Petticoat Commando. By Johanna Brandt. (Mills and Boon. 6s.)

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WOMEN IN THE BALKAN WAR†

Every account of war is interesting if it is written with the clear eye of human sympathy. It must be of interest, because in war all life is at crisis, and then, if ever, a man's character is tested to the full. Mr. Noel Buxton was allowed to see no more of the Balkan fighting than other foreigners, but, being permitted to accompany the General Staff, that followed in the wake of the fighting armies, he saw much more than most of the immediate results. Long acquaintance with the Balkans had also prepared him to understand the object and the meaning of the terrible conflict, and his sympathy with the Bulgarian army was peculiarly strong. So everything he says about the scenes of which he was a witness is of special value.

But we must limit ourselves now to the passages in which he glances for a moment at the woman's part in war. As in all wars, one might say a good deal first about the *absence* of the woman's part—the hideous disorganisation and want of supply, especially in the Turkish army. The Turks were not so much defeated in battle as starved into defeat. At the decisive battle of Lule Burgas most of the Turkish soldiers had been given nothing to eat for three days and nights. Cold, wet, and starving, they were too feeble and discouraged for anything but death. An Army Service Corps of women, under a woman Quarter-Master General, would never have tolerated such confusion and collapse. And if women may nurse the sick in war, why should they not avert sickness by feeding the hungry?

Of nursing, Mr. Buxton tells us a great deal, for he himself acted as dresser in the field hospitals for some time, and his account of the wounded and their sufferings is only too poignant. It is pleasant to read the high praise with which he speaks of the Women's Convoy Corps, under command of Mrs. Stobart. Their hardships were pretty severe, and Mr. Buxton thinks they carried good nature to a dangerous point, never considering their own exertions, hunger, or danger of breakdown. The Bulgarian women worked hard at nursing, too, but it was strange to see how untrained most of them were. "In one room," writes Mr. Buxton—

> I saw a girl of fifteen plugging a large hole made by a shrapnel ball in the back of a soldier. In fact, the whole leisured womanhood was working for the wounded, while the whole manhood of the country was at the front.

The leisured womanhood was nursing, but the working womanhood was working. That is where the pinch of successful war takes women. In defeat their sufferings are more hideous, but even in victory their fate is hard enough. All the men and oxen had gone to the war; the women alone remained to mind the farm, to guide the plough, and usually to drag it. Women had to do the work of beasts as well as of men. Even so, it was not so bad on the farms as in the towns, for generally there was some store of food to fall back upon. But in the towns the distress was terrible, for all factories were closed, and families were more helpless than if a general strike had been declared. "At Philippopolis," writes Mr. Buxton—

> A woman who had been refused help for her children cast about for some expedient to obtain attention for them. She could find none, until it struck her at last that if she herself were dead then surely the children would be cared for. She found no other way to save them, and with great deliberation she hanged herself.

And yet we are told that women can be allowed no voice in the question of peace or war because they do not fight!

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† "With the Bulgarian Staff." By Noel Buxton, M.P. (Smith, Elder and Co. 3s.)

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A SUFFRAGETTE IN THE WILDS‡

When an author gives one-fourth of her "Dedication Song" to reviewers, and calls them "Reviewers Mine!" and "Gallant Reviewers Mine!" the average critic is undone at the start. Besides, Mrs. Fred. Maturin is such a good rebel, and so loyal and whole-hearted in the way she stands by the militant vote-getters in England that we couldn't, if we would, say an unkind word of her travel book. Think of these four wanderers, right out there in Central Africa, with lions prowling around, and all manner of adventures afoot, and the authoress sticking up for "Votes for Women" in season and out of season, with all the true Suffragette's triumph over ordinary conditions of time and space! Quite apart from the Cause, Mrs. Fred. Maturin has a good deal to tell of the lands she visited that many people will be glad to read, and the practical experience here given should be useful to others contemplating a similar journey. Mrs. Maturin, at "the call of the wild," organised this six months' trek in Northern Rhodesia with her friend "The Soldier Man" for the shooting of big game, and their two companions, "The O'Flaherty" and "The Insular Miss," were secured by an advertisement—a rash enough venture, which, however, as it happened, turned out excellently. Out there, beyond our civilisation, these four persons—differing from one another in taste and opinion—by good temper and mutual consideration, managed to achieve a mighty fine time, in spite of a thousand and one inevitable discomforts on the march. The virtues and other qualities of the native helpers provide a good deal of fun, and the descriptions of scenery cannot fail to please.

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‡ Adventures beyond the Zambesi of the O'Flaherty: the Insular Miss: the Soldier Man: and the Rebel Woman. By Mrs. Fred Maturin (Edith Cecil Porch). (London: Eveleigh Nash. 10s. 6d. net.)

THE URBITOR BURBERRY

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NEW BOOKS

ADMIRABLE NONSENSE

The capacity for producing nonsense is no doubt as delightful as the capacity for receiving it, and it is certain that Mr. Ford Madox Hueffer must have immensely enjoyed himself in writing "Mr. Fleight."* To my mind, the best thing in the book is the first sentence, and I should not wonder if that first sentence were a sudden inspiration and really responsible for the whole of the story. Once you have got hold of Mr. Blood of furious aspect and put him in a deep armchair you are bound to go on, and Mr. Hueffer certainly goes on to introduce a very remarkable set of people. The sad thing is that they are all so entirely extravagant that sometimes they are not so funny as they ought to be. Even one normal person in the book (he would have been as solitary as Shakespeare's fool) would have kept things right; but when all are jesters you can hardly see the fun for the jokes. This is, nevertheless, a most entertaining book, and the entertainment is thoroughly up-to-date.

Mr. Aaron Rothweil Fleight is a millionaire soap-boiler, who lives in Palatial Hall, Hampstead. Though he possesses all the elements necessary for a great career, as he is also a Jew and a Scotsman, he is yet a sad, insignificant, little man, who feels he "is nobody." For years he has hovered timidly round Mr. Blood, an eccentric Englishman of family, until that great man notices him and thinks it would be sport to make a career for him. We then see the gentle, inoffensive, little man helpless in the iron grasp of Mr. Blood. He is pushed and prodded into Parliament, into marriage, into starting a paper; and in the course of his adventures by the way, he collects around him an amazing body of lunatics. But the story rattles on without pause, and is filled with amusing pictures of which perhaps the best are the dinner at the Enamel Club, and Mr. Fleight's wonderful party to inaugurate the new review. There are many topical touches, as when a lady of importance is begged not to leave her seat at a meeting because the stewards have "instructions to treat with great violence anyone who might be mistaken for a Suffragette." Underneath all the bubbles of fun there runs a steady stream of sarcasm and criticism directed against—well, against most things. We have the corruption of politics, the manner of buying and selling a candidate or a wife; we learn the uses of hush-money and how to save British literature by conducting a review from two bedrooms in a top-flat. We also learn how poets dress. An astute remark of Mr. Blood's is typical of the book, which is full of witty sayings:—

> "In England you really mustn't ever, no matter what you may be talking about, look at any subject from the standpoint of plain common sense. If you do, you'll let some of it slip out, and that is disaster."

J. E. M.

A NOVEL WITH A PURPOSE

Of the many interesting and sometimes brilliant character studies in "Hilary's Career" (Werner Laurie, 6s.) the most interesting, from the Suffragists' point of view, is Sylvia Raymond. Whether she is drawn from life is another matter. Described as "that bright, sure spirit, young, slender, beautifully dressed, extraordinarily feminine, extraordinarily full of charm," she might stand for a type. Her voice is "a silver clarion calling gentlewomen to battle in the tender name of motherhood." She opens her speech at the Suffrage meeting (curious how often Suffrage meetings figure in novels nowadays!) with a whole paragraph from a leaflet headed "Is the Law Unjust to Women?" She explains that it is "by one of our most prominent leaders, a man and a barrister." The particular paragraph, under the title "The mother is not the parent of her own child," opens: "This startling assertion is strictly, legally correct." Later, the harassed mother of the boy whose career is at stake seeks Sylvia's advice, and the bright, sure spirit gives it without hesitation. So sure is she, indeed, that one is relieved when she adds: "Only—you do understand?—we Suffrage women all believe that no one can see to the utmost in another's life. . . . All I can say is that what you see you must act up to—nothing more than that." And she closes the interview with this cryptic utterance: "Christ died. He planted the tree. Its roots are eternal." Despite the thinness of the plot, the story is an interesting and thoughtful study, and if Parry Truscott had done no more than give us the sketch of the forceful publisher, Hilary's father, and of the members of the Brandon family, the book would be well worth reading.

WOMAN IN TURKEY

In "Veiled Women" (Eveleigh Nash, 6s.) Marmaduke Pickthall lets us into many secrets of the harem. He describes the deadening effect of such a life on an Englishwoman of weak character, who marries a Turk, and adopts the Moslem religion, rather out of pique than from conviction in either case. She loses her son in the rising under Arabi Pasha, and with him her interest in harem life. She cares but little for either husband or daughter:—

> She pined for the ideals of Christian lands, the independent life of women and their varied interests. Here she had lost her value, having lost her son. She would soon be an old woman, a worn-out animal.

So she seeks an interview with the Consul, and tells him: "I did a very wicked thing. I turned Mahometan, and married a Turkish gentleman. . . . I want to get away from here and lead a Christian life." But even as she speaks she is busy adjusting the mouth-veil; she knows she cannot get away; the mere act of sitting on a chair in European fashion embarrasses her. The Consul refuses to help her, and, like some English magistrates when dealing with domestic problems, advises her to "go straight home and make the best of it."

Mr. Pickthall, apparently, wishes us to believe that she finds peace in resignation to the stupefying life to which she has become accustomed:—

> In self-annihilation there was peace. Thus, through her striving after Christianity, she reached at last the living heart of El Islam. . . . Had she fled to Europe she would have gone mad in the sentimental atmosphere, with all her memories.

But to us, living in the midst of such an awakening of women as the world has never seen before, the sentimentality seems to lie on the other side; the life of this woman seems to us like death. "She had found the keynote of harem existence—resignation." But we have found the keynote of Liberty, and it is—Rebellion!

And the Englishwoman would have found it, too, had she been more a woman and less a parasite.

THE BETTER HALF

"Helena Brett's Career" (Chapman and Hall, 6s.) is the story of an unsophisticated girl who marries a highly sophisticated author. She is original and clever, while he is painstaking and a *poseur*. He takes an infinity of trouble to produce unremarkable books; she, writing to relieve the tediousness of her life "just for fun," brings forth a book which takes the town by storm. Helena is a fine character in her unconscious selfishness, but could her loving respect for her husband really have survived the petty jealousy, the undignified attitude which he displayed? Thereby hangs a problem, and it may be that Helena is one of the women who would solve it in the way indicated by the author. The story is admirably told: the atmosphere is that of light comedy, and it is sustained without effort. The character drawing is good, too, and we get a convincing picture of the Bretts' daily life and of the way in which the Juggernaut car of Hubert's vanity rolls remorselessly over all that lies in its path. But Mr. Desmond Coke might be more careful in his writing. "Who could he marry?" is not grammar, and "hankered to cease" is not English. There are one or two blemishes of this kind, and when an author is so good in substance as is Mr. Coke, it seems a pity to be lax in the matter of form.

SCHOOLGIRL STORIES

"Terry, the Girl Guide"

Whether Miss Dorothea Moore's readers can accept the feats of her heroine as authentic or not, they will doubtless enjoy her story of "Terry the Girl Guide" Nisbet, 3s. 6d.). Personally, we own to some scepticism on several matters connected with Terry Vaughan's triumphant career, but when you are riding a hobby-horse you are apt to make it gallop to your own particular tune, and the author's purpose is the very commendable one of making the Girl Guides (corresponding more or less to the Boy Scouts) acceptable to schoolgirls. The idea that everyone ought to be ready for any emergency, from a mad dog to an invasion, is an excellent one, and Miss Moore does good service in drawing attention to it. The book has an introduction by Miss Agnes Baden-Powell.

"Schoolgirl Honour"

"Schoolgirl Honour," by Kathlyn Rhodes (Nisbet, 3s. 6d.), has no such Imperial purpose to put before its readers, but we suppose there are many schoolgirls who will enjoy reading it. Whether it is as good for them as a book ostensibly written for boys, we very much doubt. Stories written for girls are apt to err on the sentimental side, and although there is nothing of the old-fashioned sentimentality in this story we think the headmistress points the moral too much. What headmaster, discovering that one boy through jealousy, has been systematically getting another into a series of scrapes, would call the entire school together and preach on that boy's "besetting sin," and little by little recount the story of his downfall? It is time that some of the robuster methods of the "boys' stories" permeated those written for girls, or better still, that we discarded altogether the pernicious habit of thinking of boys and girls as if they were creatures inhabiting different globes.

"THE LAUGHTER OF WOMEN"

Under this title Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence contributes a delightfully ironic little piece of reflection on the recent Suffrage defeat in the House, to the *Oxford Fortnightly* for May 19 (The Holywell Press, Oxford, price 6d. net). Of course, he says, women "ought to be in floods of tears, mourning the infidelity of men and the wrongs of women. Only they aren't!" He goes on to explain how this amused attitude on the part of women has come about. "Why," he asks—

> Are women chuckling to-day against all the rules of common sense? The fact is that they are quietly laughing at you and me and the rest of our sex, and particularly at the men in the House of Commons. "You dear, fascinating babies," they say to us, "do you really think you are going to stop us getting what we want by defeating a mock Bill after a delicious mock fight? Never since we guided your infant hands to fire off your wonderful cannon that were compounded of cardboard and paste and elastic, and then let you win (because otherwise you would have cried), have you done anything half so engaging, half so supremely ridiculous! And we really would shed tears about it to please you, only you know you are supposed to be grown up now. Besides, we are in earnest, and so we have got to let you learn the real truth."

The rest of the article deals concisely with the real truth about Mr. Dickinson's defeated Bill, and women's determination not only to ask for the vote, but to win it. Suffragists, especially men, should read it.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Climatology; or, The Science of Climates. The Materialisation of the Great Millennium." By A. Watters. (Liverpool: A. Watters. Price 2s. 6d. net.)

"The Origin and History of Reincarnation." A Symposium. Arranged by S. George from the Writings of Archdeacon Wilberforce, Mrs. Besant, Dr. Johnston, A. Van der Naillen, Dr. J. Peebles, Dr. Paul Carus, H. Fielding Hall, and S. George. (London: The Power Book Co. Price 2s 6d. net.)

"Woman at Home." June. (London: 8, Southampton Street, W.C. Price 6d. net.)

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* "Mr. Fleight.—The Life of Aaron Rothweil Fleight: Millionaire, Soapboiler, Politician." By Ford Madox Hueffer. (London: Howard Latimer. Price 6s.)

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FRIDAY, MAY 30, 1913.

THE
PHANTOM WOMAN.

"Women have no existence and no essence; they are not; they are nothing" That is the dictum of Otto Weininger, one of the modern exponents of anti-feminism, to whom reference was made in the recent Woman Suffrage debate in the House of Commons. In his opinion, "even the lowest man stands infinitely higher than the highest woman," and the reason he offers for this view is that only man has a soul; woman possesses neither soul nor ego nor individuality nor personality nor freedom nor character nor will.

In conjunction with Strindberg, Nietzsche, and other masculinists he lays insistent stress upon the inherent passivity and suggestibility of women which deprive them of the essence of being and of any real existence except as a mere projection of the male mind. "It is only woman, who minus soul or an intelligible ego, has not power to become conscious of what is in her; who cannot throw the light of truth on her inmost self; who can by her completely passive inundation by a consciousness belonging to another, allow what is in her own nature to be suppressed by an extraneous element." Throughout this much-belauded Essay upon Sex and Character he dwells upon the fatal readiness with which women respond to conceptions which men form with regard to them, ever bringing themselves into conformity with the accepted type which the ruling masculine notions of the hour set up, and which men change as they change the fashion of their clothes

That "suggestibility" is not solely a feminine weakness is shown, however, by the fact that men themselves are swept from one standpoint to another in their judgment and verdict upon the entire female sex, in response to the suggestion of some new law-giver, philosopher, or teacher who offers a fresh solution of the eternal enigma. Unfortunately, at these periods of transition the passivity of women has been fraught in the past with dire tragedy, and is attended with great danger to the womanhood of the present time.

The history of the Witch Trials alone should suffice to convince women for ever that it is not safe for woman to accept in practice the rôle of a phantom creature, a mere projection of the male mind, which at any moment may be wrought into a condition of savage hysteria by the suggestion of clever but perverted doctrinaires.

"The universal epidemic of belief in devilish sorcery and in demon-paramours as well as the fear of witches which caused the Christianity of Western Europe to live in fear and trembling for over two centuries," we read in Soldan's *History of the Witch Trials*, "was caused chiefly by the *Witch Hammer*, which first prepared for itself the millions of sacrificial victims which it afterwards destroyed."

The *Witch Hammer* was compiled by two Dominican friars filled with a superstitious rancour and a fanatical fury against the entire female sex. "From the time when this codex for the persecution of witches was first set up, both church and judgment chamber toiled together in order to build up the theory. Philosophy and medicine gave their faithful aid, and the penal laws supplied in their turn the material that went to conform the theory."

Rosa Mayreder, who deals in a most illuminating way with this subject in her very valuable book, "A Survey of the Woman Problem," points the warning of that terrible epoch to the women of to-day. "We are, in general, inclined to believe that all things which have been part and parcel of the past have also been done away with. Modern science has swept ancient superstition from its domain, but the dark depths of the human soul are not so easily swept clean, and it might well be that the old hostile mania with regard to women still pursues its evil purpose in the guise of milder forms and under a more modern mask."

The contention of Strindberg that women are not only mentally and morally inferior to men, but represent an intermediary biological form; the statement of Lombroso that even "the normal woman is a half-criminaloid being"; the dictum of Weininger that "woman represents negation; the opposite pole from the Godhead"; the assertion of Nietzsche that "man, who has depth of thought, as well as of purpose, must always look at woman from the Oriental standpoint; as a possession, as private property, as something born to serve and be dependent upon him"; together with the newspaper effusions of such men as Sir Almroth Wright, and the speeches of Mr. Asquith in the Manhood Suffrage and Woman Suffrage debates in the House of Commons, should serve as danger-signals to the womanhood of the whole civilised world.

There is no safety, no security of honour for phantom woman. Whether as the angel or the fool, the saint or the temptress, the Madonna or the demon—woman the product of the male mind is at the mercy of the whim or the fashion, the mania or the hysteria, of that by which she is projected.

Otto Weininger died by his own hand in 1903. Since then the phenomenon of a Militant Womanhood has taken the theorisers on this subject completely by surprise. Woman the phantom has become woman the amazing reality, woman the abstraction of the male mind has been transformed into woman the individual who exists in and for herself, woman the echo has materialised into woman the ego who formulates her own speech and makes her own demand and fights for the development of her own "personality, freedom, character and will." That is, after all, the great achievement of the modern Woman's Movement as exemplified in our own country.

At a conference recently held in Germany the developments in the English Woman's Movement were declared absolutely impossible for German women, because such developments would never meet with the approval of "unsern deutschen Herren" (our German gentlemen). Not the opinion as to the undesirability of militant methods at the present crisis of the movement in Germany (which opinion may or may not be correct), but the reason given, indicative of the passivity and suggestibility of the women who are prepared to suppress their own personality and suspend their independent judgment, accounts for the comparative failure of the Woman's Movement in Germany. No real advance will be made by women anywhere so long as they look outside their own conscience and outside their own personality for the sanction of their own beliefs and actions. The significance of the development of the Woman's Movement in our own country is the independence of mind with which women have formulated their own policy and the inflexibility of will with which they have carried it out. They have not only played their own game, but they have drawn up their own rules with results most disconcerting to things (including political schemes and judicial systems) projected by the male mind.

Demonstration of the ego, manifestation of initiative on the part of women are necessary to the eventual comradeship of both sexes.

One thing this prolonged fight for freedom has done for the women of our race and for the whole womanhood of the world. It has forged a new standard of woman's intrepid self-reliance; it has created a new tradition of woman's initiative and inflexibility of will, and this is an immense asset to womanhood, and one that must be appreciated at its full value and guarded with vigilance. The Movement of the last seven years has developed a new type of womanhood; it has brought to the front and set in the view of all who have eyes to see the woman who perceives her goal, and, caring nothing for the opinions of other people, goes straight for it, turning neither to the right hand nor to the left. In the place of the phantom woman, the subjective illusion of the male mind, is the woman of flesh and blood, who demands a place in the sun, and is determined to win it.

WHY MEDICAL WOMEN ARE SUFFRAGISTS

By L. Garrett Anderson, M.D., B.S.

Mr. Asquith's view that professional and working women do not suffer from the want of political representation is not shared by any organised body of women in the country. Daily experience teaches them that they are constantly handicapped in their work simply because they are voteless women, and by petitions and in other ways they have shown that they believe that the possession of political power would help to remove the artificial disabilities imposed on them either by directing legislation to the needs of women, or by giving them an improved political status.

The most obvious disability is seen in those learned professions, such as the law and the Church, which remain closed to women. Other professions have grudgingly admitted women, but curtail their opportunities in many ways. There is an impression that medicine is one of the professions in which women are free of disabilities, but consideration of a few facts will show that even here equality of opportunity does not exist.

The First Woman Doctor

Half a century ago the medical profession in England was opened to women by Miss Elizabeth Garrett. For several years she fought the battle alone. She broke down much prejudice and opened many doors. She built a fine hospital for women (the New Hospital for Women, 144, Euston Road), which has helped to train them to undertake responsible work in surgery and medicine. She gathered round her a committee of men and women who founded the London School of Medicine for Women. There are now about 1,000 women on the medical register, and much that was supremely difficult to the pioneers has been made easy for the present generation of women undergraduates. But, in medicine, as in the home or in the workshop, the stability of the position of women is affected by the denial of equal citizen rights. While an equal political status is denied, social and professional and legal equality are impossible.

When a man enrols himself as a medical student he has the choice of twelve medical schools and general hospitals in London, to any one of which he may attach himself. It may not matter much to the woman undergraduate that the London School of Medicine for Women and the Royal Free Hospital are the only places where she can take her early studies and gain her clinical experience; but directly she qualifies and wishes to acquire special post-graduate knowledge in the various branches of medicine, restriction to one comparatively small hospital, however good, and to the teaching of a few men who hold staff appointments in it, instead of having admission to all the large general and special hospitals, and the advantage of the bedside teaching of any man in London, constitutes a deprivation which cannot be over-estimated. To obtain good post-graduate work women are forced to go to Berlin or Vienna or America. It is withheld from them in England.

A Distinct Hardship

Fifty years ago Miss Garrett was smuggled into the wards of the Middlesex Hospital, dressed as a nurse, and cautioned "not to look intelligent." For a long time she was refused as a candidate for degree examinations by all the examining bodies. Many years later the University of London admitted women on equal terms to its examinations, prizes, and distinctions. This course has been followed by many of the provincial Universities, but not by Oxford or Cambridge, and their continued refusal of recognition of the rights of women students constitutes a distinct hardship.

It was only after years of pressure that the much-coveted qualifications of the Royal Colleges were extended to medical women.

On qualification a man, if ambitious and able, finds the medical world open to him. A woman's difficulties begin after she qualifies. She has no post-graduate opportunities in London. The number of resident appointments for which she can apply is strictly circumscribed, and, with the exception of the New Hospital for Women, does not include any hospital devoted to the treatment of women or children—the branches of work in which she most needs experience.

The crowded waiting-rooms of the New Hospital for Women prove the demand among patients of the hopital class for the services of women doctors, yet no gynæcological hospital in London admits women to resident or staff appointments, and an equal disability exists in the case of Children's Hospitals.

To meet the growing need among medical women for further hospital experience, two more hospitals were started by women in 1912—The South London Hospital for Women, which is to follow more or less on the lines which have already proved so successful at the New Hospital for Women; and the Women's Hospital for Children, 688, Harrow Road, which aims at providing medical women in London, *for the first time*, with an opportunity for responsible experience in children's medicine.

It must be remembered that staff appointments are professional prizes. They are made by the Council of the Hospital (men), on the advice of the medical staff (men). Perhaps it is not surprising that they are given by men to men. Even for infirmary appointments women candidates are heavily handicapped, and however good their experience and ability may be, they never obtain the posts of senior assistant or superintendent with adequate salary and security of tenure in poor law infirmaries and asylums.

Similarly, in the Public Health Department, it is only the worst paid posts for which women can compete. No woman has a chance of becoming a medical officer of health with responsible, interesting work and a reasonable salary.

"Because She was a Woman"

A short time ago a medical woman—an ophthalmic surgeon—was sufficiently enterprising to go to India for several weeks for the express purpose of getting wide experience of a new operation for cataract. She performed several hundred operations, and the published record of her results attracted much interest. However, she was not admitted to the discussion on the subject at the Ophtha malogical Society *because she was a woman*, although it is unlikely that anyone present had had an equally extensive experience.

A few years ago, on three separate occasions, there was a vacancy on the staff of a Children's Hospital in London. The only candidate with experience of children's medicine was a woman. She had acted in that hospital as junior and senior resident, and had assisted in the out-patient department for years, and had acted as substitute for the assistant physician for nine months. Yet her claim was passed over on each occasion in favour of a man who had had no experience in children's work, and had not even passed his degree examination when he sent in his application. The same hospital illustrated the principle of unequal pay for equal work by paying women residents at the rate of £10 and £20 per annum respectively, and after many years of faithful service advertising for "male residents" at £40 and £60 per annum.

Even medical journals are capable of bias. A man and woman collaborated over an article which was sent to a journal devoted to the study of children's diseases. The editor refused to print the woman's name, and the article appeared over the man's signature only.

That women should have won a place in one of the learned professions is a great gain not only to their fellow-women who wish to consult them, but to the Woman's Movement as a whole. The disabilities of medical women can be attacked one by one and gradually removed; special support can be given to the hospitals started by women and officered by medical women, the New Hospital for Women, 142, Euston Road, the South London Hospital for Women, and the Women's Hospital for Children, 688, Harrow Road; and pressure can be put on the governing bodies of the other hospitals to treat medical women more fairly. But it should never be forgotten that the existence of these disabilities depends on there being a double standard of professional justice which is only possible as long as women themselves acquiesce in the inferior status of women.

The Woman's Movement stands for equal justice to men and women, and nothing will raise the position of women so much as a victorious issue to their demand for equal political recognition and citizen rights.

◆

UNCONQUERABLE.

O sleek and well-fed members of the British Cabinet who wonder by what methods you can subdue us;
O men in high places who try vainly to coerce and crucify us into submission;
O feeble and futile politicians who prefer that England shall be a laughing-stock in the eyes of the world
(A nation that cannot control a handful of women,
A nation that keeps in power men who torture women in prison,
A nation in whose mighty mouth the word "Democracy," formed with blustering breath, dies into a shamed whisper);
O foolish men, listen to the truth, and know your position;
You are fighting a spiritual force with material weapons,
And, never since the world began, have such been successful.
Were we, as you are, looking for something for ourselves, we might be conquered;
Were we, as you are, cowards (surrounded by police, afraid of noises, carefully guarded),
Then, too, we might be conquered.
But we, ready for all that may come, ready, if needs be, to die, cannot be intimidated.
We are fighting for our sweated sister that she may have a living wage;
We are fighting for the little children, that their outraged bodies may be atoned for by just sentences
(For to us it certainly seems that a child's purity is worth more than a pane of glass);
We are fighting for power to deal adequately with the White Slave traffic;
We are fighting for all that is right and just and good;
And we shall never stop fighting till we are given power to help right these wrongs.
Make no mistake, Mr. McKenna, you cannot stop this battle.
Try to stop a forest fire when once it has got beyond control;
Try to stop a flood when once the dykes have burst;
Try without compass or stars to steer a straight course through a wild, tempestuous sea;
But do not try to stop one woman who has in her heart the tremendous driving-power of a spiritual impulse!
And we are many women—more than you think!
Do you dream, in your blindness, that this is a battle for mere votes, for a privilege, for an honour?
This is a fight to the death for a principle, for justice, for decency, for humanity!
We do not know what fear is, so you cannot frighten us;
We do not know self-interest, so we cannot be bribed;
We do not know, in this battle, our own dignity, so we cannot be shamed.
We see only, with eyes lifted, the long procession of ill-used women and little children;
We hear the call to battle of the God of justice and mercy.
Whether we see the day of victory or fall in the fight we know not, nor do we care;
Where we fall eager soldiers will step into our places.
This is God's war! Have a care, O men of a brief, puny authority
Lest, haply, ye be found to fight against God!

ALMON HENSLEY.

SUFFRAGE IN THE SUNSHINE

Last Sunday's Open-Air Meetings

Why have Press reporters such a passion for gravitating towards the rowdy spot in a Suffrage demonstration and allowing it to colour their whole view of the proceedings? The picture drawn in Monday morning's papers of the mobbing of Suffragettes in Victoria Park would lead any unsuspecting reader to suppose that the East End had no better manners than the West End, and that the shameful scenes witnessed in Hyde Park for six Sundays past were reproduced last Sunday when the fine Suffrage procession of men, women, and children, after a march of three miles or so, arrived in the Hyde Park of the East End, and held a demonstration there from fifteen platforms. It is true that the organized hooligan mob, who have been encouraged for some weeks by the police to turn Hyde Park into a bear garden, transferred their energies, last Sunday, to the Victoria Park; and the result was that the three meetings held by Suffragists in Hyde Park (by the N.U.W.S.S., the Men's League, and the Teachers' Franchise League) passed off without interruption, while some of the speakers in the East End demonstration were subjected to the ribald interruptions and music-hall choruses of the young roughs who usually go to Hyde Park, and whom the Press mistakes for political opponents of the Suffragettes. But it would be grossly unfair to the genuine frequenter of the Victoria Park to fall into the same naïve trap that catches the unwary journalist week after week; and we must protest against the lurid statements that have appeared with regard to the treatment accorded to Suffragettes in the East End last Sunday.

Not Enough to Go Round

There is one characteristic of the Park hooligans for which we can always be thankful, and that is that there are never enough of them to go round if there is more than one speaker to be shouted down. Last Sunday this fact was very patent. The rowdiness was almost wholly concentrated round the large centre W.S.P.U. platform on which Miss Sylvia Pankhurst was speaking, and round the lorry of the Actresses' Franchise League. The speakers on these two platforms were scarcely given a chance of winning a hearing, for the opposition was entirely unpolitical, and consisted in the shouting of choruses and in making attacks on the flags and banners of the lorries. At some of the other platforms there were interruptions and heckling, but of the healthy and open-air kind that any experienced speaker can deal with and turn to advantage. The hooligan knows this; that is why he hunts in crowds and adopts the primitive weapon of senseless uproar.

At many of the platforms there were large and attentive audiences who passed the resolutions to give votes to working women on the same terms as to men, either unanimously or with few dissentients. At one platform at least, the crowd, which began by being hostile (led by an interrupter who shouted monotonously, "Paid hirelings!" until one wondered suspiciously whether one might venture on a Tu quoque) gradually grew interested in spite of itself; and when the vote was taken not half-a-dozen hands went up against it.

"There was evidently a preconcerted plan to prevent the prominent Suffragists speaking," says the *Morning Post;* and that is certainly one way of expressing the fact, now pretty generally acknowledged, that the action of the Home Secretary in attacking the constitutional campaign of the militant Suffragists has given *carte blanche* as it were to all idle young roughs to bait the Suffragettes without having anything to fear from the police. The *Daily Chronicle* observes that when Miss Pankhurst's platform was located by the disturbers "the others were left more or less severely alone." Does our contemporary really suppose that the speakers on the other platforms regretted being left free of such attentions? But perhaps the Press correspondent who most excelled himself on this occasion was the one who related how Suffragists in a fainting condition took refuge, under police protection, in a house close by. There was tea at 4d. a head in that house; and if the Press correspondent had known of it perhaps he would have been as glad as the speakers were to get to it. But he would not have picturesquely described his thirst as a swoon, nor would he have seen in the one constable who stood on guard outside the gate, police protection for mobbed and hustled Suffragettes! Similarly, when the procession entered the Park, gay with bands and banners and boughs of apple blossom standing out pink against the blue sky, the waiting crowds, especially the younger element of it, clamoured for trophies, and generally got them. But our imaginative Press saw in the generosity of the processionists only another attack upon the Suffragettes by a furious mob who snatched the boughs from their hands and tore them to pieces or trampled them under foot. Has the whole of history been written like this? Was the Civil War only a peaceable, open-air campaign conducted by Pym, Hampden, and Cromwell, and broken up by cavalier hooligans organized by Superintendent Falkland with the connivance of Home Secretary Charles I.?

Miss Pankhurst's Account

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst's own account, as supplied in a letter to the Press, endorses our representative's view of what happened in Victoria Park. "There was the largest gathering in the park that has ever been seen in East London," she writes, "and the vast mass of the crowd were our friends. The resolution demanding votes for working women without delay and declaring opposition to any franchise measure not containing this essential principle was carried by overwhelming majorities, and in some cases unanimously, at thirteen out of the fifteen platforms. Whilst the main body of the crowd was entirely orderly and sympathetic, a few hundred men and youths, whose conduct appeared to be organised, caused some disorder. Half of them went to the New Constitutional Society's platform, tore the flags, and were exceedingly noisy. Then thev passed on to the actresses' platform, where they remained. The other half of the rowdies came to my platform, but in spite of their singing and shouting they did not entirely succeed in drowning our voices."

Mr. Lansbury's View

In the course of a letter written to us on the same subject, Mr. George Lansbury, who walked in the procession, writes: "Don't believe the papers about Sunday. It was the most enthusiastic demonstration ever held in East London; fully 12,000 men, women and children marched, and the streets were lined with one solid mass of humanity for about two and a half miles."

WHERE MOTIVE COUNTS

How often have Suffragettes in the dock been told by magistrate or judge that motive had nothing to do with the case, and they were to be judged solely by their actions? Yet in a case of fratricide, reported in the *Standard* of May 22, where a labourer shot his brother, who had just threatened to murder their adopted sister, counsel for the Crown said that the jury *had not to decide whether the prisoner killed his brother, but whether there was justification for his act.*

Do our readers realise that if the same recommendation had been made in the case of Suffragist law-breakers during the last seven years, *not one of the thousand and more women who have suffered imprisonment for the Cause would have been found guilty?*

(*Reproduced by Permission of the Photographer, Geo. Davis, Oxford.*)

MILITANT SUFFRAGISTS' LAUNCH AT OXFORD DURING EIGHTS WEEK.

THE CHILD OF THE VOTELESS WOMAN

An Interesting Record

The opening pages of the annual report of the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children offer much food for reflection to Suffragists, for they set forth very clearly how the child of the poorer classes to-day is educated, fed, and medically attended in the schools, and penalised in the police courts, under laws made in Parliament—a Parliament in whose election women have no voice, and which was certainly not elected specially with this end in view. For as long as women have no direct control over Parliamentary elections or the choice of candidates, it is not likely that the care of children, and all that this implies, will take precedence of, or even rank highly among, those questions on which elections are fought. Further, while the vast majority of the children of the country are being brought, as this interesting enumeration shows, more and more under the control of the State, how can it be seriously maintained another moment that the woman can "mind the baby" by "staying in the home" and not bothering herself about politics at all?

"The Dignity of Parenthood"

The Report goes on to say that the ideal of the Society is "the beauty and dignity of parenthood." That, of course, is the ideal of all Suffragists; and, while recognising to the full the admirable remedial work done by the N.S.P.C.C., we cannot but feel that this ideal of theirs will never be really attained until mothers in this country are placed on an equal footing with fathers in the eye of the law. The Report itself recognises their present inequality of status, for, in speaking of the child offender in the police-court, it refers only to the "parent," and not to "parents." And no one can have attended a Children's Court without realising the slur cast upon all women in this denial of the right of legal parenthood to the mother of the child, unless she happens to be unmarried or widowed. And the lack of respect that attends the mother in the home as a consequence of this denial probably accounts for a good many of the cases that pass through the dock of the Children's Court in the course of the year.

"Neglect and Starvation"

By far the greater number of the cases dealt with by the N.S.P.C.C. in the year 1912—47,880 of them, in fact—are placed under the heading of "Neglect and Starvation," showing how large a part poverty plays in the suffering of children, as of the poor generally. "Ill-treatment and Assault" account for another 3,886, and in reading of babies and tiny children who have been "cruelly ill-used, mutilated, or tortured, without having been granted the anæsthetic that would have been given to a dog on the operating table," we confess we do not extract sufficient comfort from the words of the Report that "Neither cruelty nor neglect of children can be described as a characteristic of the race as a whole." A more practical reflection, we cannot help thinking, is that those 3,886 little sufferers were martyrs to the prevailing idea that human life is of less value than senseless property, and it is against that pernicious idea that the whole Suffrage forces are out fighting to-day.

A Grim Item

A more serious indictment still of the same theory is the grim item—Offences against Morality, 842. Dealing with the cases of assaults on young girls, and pointing out that the maximum penalty is two years' imprisonment, with or without hard labour, and that it is a sufficient defence to prove that the offender thought the girl was above sixteen years of age, the Report goes on to say:—

"There is no offence in which, if the evidence is conclusive, it would be more desirable for the better protection of young girls, to have the full sentence inflicted on each offender. An added advantage would be gained if it were known that this course would be generally adopted in the Courts where such cases are tried. Men are not slow to measure the standard of public reprobation for certain acts. They are quick to observe the leniency shown to some scoundrels of the worst type. Yet it frequently happens that offenders get off with a term of imprisonment varying from three to eight months, and in one notable case of the year, to which the attention of the Home Office was directed, a married man who attempted to perpetrate a gross outrage upon his wife's sister, aged thirteen years, was at the Central Criminal Court bound over in the sum of £5 to come up for judgment if called upon."

We fully share the Society's views on this terrible subject, of such import to all women; and we agree also that where a girl witness is called in these cases she should be accompanied by a woman, and "to this extent at least" have some protection in "one of the most trying times of her life."

But we feel also that none of these reforms will be assured, and no real step taken towards stamping out this horrible class of offence, until women have won the full rights of citizenship. For such offences spring from the low age of consent, from the inferior status of women, and from the general standard of morality consequent upon these disabilities of women. It is sometimes asked of Suffragists by their opponents whether, in the event of their winning the vote, they would be prepared to pay the penalty and to serve on juries. They would not only be prepared, but they would fail to consider it a penalty to serve upon juries, when, by so doing, they could bring the woman's presence and the woman's point of view into the Courts.

THE LEGAL PARENT

An instance of the way the law bears heavily on the unmarried mother, who is the sole legal parent of her child, may be found in a case reported on May 24 in the *Daily Mail*. A girl-mother was charged at the Westminster Police Court with having left her ten days' old baby in a brown paper parcel under the seat of a motor omnibus. Her defence was that she hoped it would be found and taken care of until she could afford to look after it herself. What money she had when she went into the infirmary had been taken by the authorities to pay for her keep; she came out without a penny, she could not go home as her father had been out of work five months. *The father of the child had gone to Hong Kong.*

The magistrate was kind—everybody was kind—she was bound over to come up for judgment within twelve months on her promise to return to the infirmary till she was well enough to take a situation. But what an outlook for a mother who is little more than a child herself—while the man who should be sharing her responsibility is allowed by the law to escape scot free! Is it to be wondered it that one of the first reforms accomplished by newly-enfranchised women in other countries has generally been one to establish the equality of parenthood?

A WOMAN J.P.

Things are moving on. Some years ago, when an application was made to the Lord Chancellor to allow the Chairman of the Bethnal Green Board of Guardians (a woman) to act as a Justice of the Peace in lunacy matters at the workhouse infirmary, the application was refused, and the ex-Chairman of the Board (a man) instructed to act in her stead. Now we have a similar application made on behalf of Miss Emily Duncan, Chairman of the West Ham Board of Guardians, and Lord Haldane raises no objection! Thus do Suffragists, by going to prison for the vote, burst open locked doors elsewhere to women!

Miss Duncan's duty will be to decide whether supposed lunatics in the West Ham Union area are really insane. Yet, as the *Daily Herald* says, she may not decide whether a man is fit to be a member of Parliament!

The *Pall Mall Gazette* says in a leading article:—

"It is the kind of experiment that will be approved by all sympathisers with the expansion of women's interests, and there are many fields in which opportunities should be accepted, as they occur, for letting the sex show what they can make of new and active responsibilities. We rather think, for instance, the quality of justice might be improved in several directions by permitting women a voice in the deliberation of juries. Not that their sex is treated with undue harshness—rather the reverse—but that the clemency of men is dictated by sentiment, where the female mind would substitute a truer discrimination and bring mercy into more real correspondence with moral facts.

MRS. PANKHURST'S RE-COMMITTAL

Arrest at Woking

Mrs. Pankhurst was re-arrested at Woking last Monday, and brought up at Bow Street, where the magistrate made an order for her re-committal to prison, and she was removed to Holloway Gaol.

It will be remembered that Mrs. Pankhurst was sentenced to three years' penal servitude on April 3. After a nine days' hunger strike she was released on licence, in a state of collapse, on April 12. The licence required her to return to prison on April 28, and on her failing to do so a warrant was issued for her re-arrest, but was not enforced in the face of her obviously serious state of health. As soon as she could be moved from the nursing home she went to Woking, where the arrest took place on Monday morning. Both in the nursing home and at Woking a strong guard of police and detectives had surrounded the house night and day.

Mrs. Pankhurst left the house at Woking quite openly, soon after eleven o'clock, with her nurse and her doctor. A motor-car was waiting to take her to London, but Detective-Sergeant Bannon intervened at once and asked her where she was going. On receiving her reply that she was going to the meeting at the London Pavilion, he arrested her on the warrant granted by Mr. Dickinson previously at Bow Street, and took her to Woking Police Station, and thence to Bow Street, where she was brought up before Mr. Graham Campbell late in the afternoon.

IN THE POLICE COURT

When evidence of arrest had been given, the magistrate said to Mrs. Pankhurst that his duty was purely ministerial. She was arrested on a warrant issued from that court, and the only power he had was to issue his warrant to re-commit her to prison.

Mrs. Pankhurst: May I say something?

Mr. Graham Campbell: I don't think there is anything to be said. What do you want to say? I don't wish to stop you.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I wish to say this. I was released from Holloway Prison on account of my health. Since that release I have been treated exactly as though I was in prison and it has become absolutely impossible for anyone to recover health under such conditions. This morning I decided ——

Mr. Graham Campbell (interrupting): You quite understand what your position is? The only power I have is to issue my warrant to recommit you to Holloway.

Mrs. Pankhurst: I think you should do so with a full sense of the responsibility you undertake.

Mr. Graham Campbell: I have a full sense of my responsibility.

"An Intolerable Situation"

Mrs. Pankhurst: I came out of the house this morning because I was determined to put an end to an intolerable situation and resume my position as an ordinary human being in this country. If I am taken on your warrant as apparently I shall be, to Holloway, I shall resume the protest I made there which led to my release, and this will go on indefinitely either until I die or until the Government decide that since they take upon themselves the right to employ you and other people to execute the laws, they must recognise women as citizens, and give them some control over the laws.

Mr. Graham Campbell repeated that all he had to do was to recommit her to Holloway Gaol. On the application of her solicitor, permission was given for a nurse to accompany her to Holloway.

Mrs. Pankhurst (as she left the dock): It is very little use, for there are no nurses there.

Mrs. Pankhurst was cheered by a crowd of sympathisers as she drove away in a taxi-cab, and about twenty women followed her all the way in cabs, and nearly succeeded in getting past the warders and "rushing" the prison. Members of the W.S.P.U. have volunteered to act as sentries outside the prison.

AT THE PAVILION

Great indignation was manifested at the London Pavilion meeting of the W.S.P.U. when Mrs. Dacre Fox announced from the chair that Mrs. Pankhurst had been re-committed to prison. The following letter was then read from Mrs. Pankhurst:—

"My dear Chairman,—I shall, if possible, be present at the Pavilion this afternoon. If I am prevented I would like you to tell our friends that during my illness I have watched with deep appreciation and admiration the splendid work done by our members. In spite of every effort that has been made by the Government and its allies to disorganise and crush the Union, it has maintained its power to embarrass and discredit and ultimately drive out of office the present Government, which disgraces the name of Liberalism.

"No power on earth can break the spirit of our militant women, and I warn the Government that all their methods of repression will fail ignominiously. I am sure that our members and friends share the contempt I feel for the latest slanders circulated by the Press as to the dissensions in our ranks. The wish is father to the thought.

"All these attempts to injure our movement we treat with the scorn they deserve. We were never stronger nor more united. If you read this letter to the audience at the Pavilion it will mean I am again arrested, and I want you to say that I am in no way discouraged nor dismayed. I shall return to prison more determined than ever to prove what I have so often said, that no power can compel a human being to consent to unjust and unconstitutional government.

"I take my stand over again by the side of those who refuse to submit to the imprisonment of women who are fighting for the emancipation of their sex. We are soldiers engaged in a holy war, and we mean to go on until victory is won."

The *Daily Sketch* published some pictures of the arrest in its Tuesday's issue, adding the words: "Do you think she looks well enough to be sent back to the house of pain?"

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THE CHARGE AGAINST THE "SUFFRAGETTE" PRINTER

The hearing was resumed last Monday before the Manchester Stipendiary Magistrate of the charge against Mr. Edgar Whiteley, manager of the National Labour Press, Limited, Blackfriars Street, in connection with the publication of the *Suffragette*. Mr. Whiteley is charged with conspiring on April 29 and other dates with Emmeline Pankhurst and others "unlawfully and wickedly to solicit, instigate, and incite divers women, being members of the Women's Social and Political Union and others, unlawfully and maliciously to do and commit in and upon the real and personal property of and belonging to liege subjects of His Majesty injury and spoil to the amount of £5 and upwards." Mr. Gordon Hewart, K.C., and Mr. Wingate Saul prosecuted on behalf of the Public Prosecutor, and Sir William Cobbett defended.

The case for the prosecution was continued on Monday, and had not concluded when the proceedings were adjourned to to-morrow (Saturday). In all twelve witnesses from London were called, and only in two or three cases, and then on a few points, did Sir William Cobbett cross-examine. Five Scotland Yard detectives gave evidence bearing on the shorthand notes of speeches by Mrs. Pankhurst and others, which they had taken between October and April; and on details of the raid on the London offices of the Women's Social and Political Union and of the books that were found there bearing on salaries and positions.

Cross-examination

On the question of possible incitement in the printing of accounts of militant offences, Sir William Cobbett closely cross-examined the general manager of the *Suffragette* printer in October and November of last year.

Sir W. Cobbett: It has been suggested that the collection under one heading in one part of the paper of accounts of offences constitutes an incitement to commit crime.—I don't think it is so.

Can you tell me whether it has been the practice of newspapers throughout the country to collect these offences under one heading?—I cannot tell you.

Sir W. Cobbett: I find that in the *Manchester Evening News*, a paper of good repute, the militant offences are collected together under one heading.—Yes.

Have you ever heard of the *Manchester Guardian*?—Yes.

Here is a copy of it, and you will find there collected in one part of the paper a number of militant offences.—Yes, There are also reports of meetings. I see there are two columns in all.

Have not the leading papers made a practice of putting reports of such offences under one head?—I have seen several morning papers which collected the charges and reports and put them under a special heading.

Mr. Gordon Hewart: Have you ever seen in the *Manchester Guardian* or any other paper of repute the names of people convicted of outrages brought together under the title of "Roll of Honour," or similar heading?—No.

In cross-examinaion, a traveller for another printing firm said that he did not think at the time that in printing "The Roll of Honour" his firm were inciting people to commit outrages.

The case was adjourned until to-morrow (Saturday).

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THE CASE OF MR. JOHN SCURR

At the City Police Court, Leeds, on Thursday in last week, before the Stipendiary Magistrate, Mr. Horace Marshall, the hearing was resumed of the charge against Mr. John Scurr, president of the London District Committee of the Dockers' Union, of inciting to commit crime under the Malicious Damage to Property Act.

Mr. Seward Pearce represented the Director of Public Prosecutions, and Mr. Arthur Willey defended. Many supporters of the Suffragist movement were present.

FOR THE PROSECUTION

Mr. Pearce explained that the case was founded on the reports of two police reporters who were present during a speech delivered by the defendant at the Albert Hall, Leeds, on April 22, under the auspices of the Women's Social and Political Union. They did not take a verbatim note, but only reported those parts upon which they were able to base a charge.

The following passage from his speech was then read:—

"After all, Government itself rests on force. The consequence is that when laws are enforced by Government which are against the interest and well-being of the people, it becomes the right of the people to resist the dictates of that Government by all the force and methods at their disposal. For my own part I do not regard property as sacred at all. I consider that if it is the only way in which people are going to be made to recognise their responsibilities, then the sooner we start destroying property everywhere and anywhere the better. Then, too, I believe that militancy is expedient."

Proceeding, Mr. Pearce said the warrant was issued under Act 34, Edward III., and as the defendant had referred to the Lansbury prosecution he thought that Mr. Marshall might resort to the usual course and demand an undertaking.

Mr. Willey contended that the whole proceedings were irregular; in these cases it was usual for the prosecution to call evidence, and then not to call upon the magistrate to pass judgment, but to ask the defendant to find sureties. But before this could be done it must be proved that as a result of the incitement people went in fear of bodily harm.

THE EVIDENCE

Inspector Harry Darley said between 600 and 700 people attended the meeting, the speech lasting about thirty minutes; the defendant had made mention of the Carson incident, and proceeded to point out that if militancy was justifiable in the Irish question, it was equally so in the Suffragist movement.

Close Cross-Examination

Mr. Willey: Is there one sentence in the whole of this speech that leads to direct incitement?

Witness: I don't know.

Mr. Willey: If Mr. Scurr's speech was so inciting and rebellious, how is it that information was not laid against him until May 19?

Witness: I don't know.

Mr. Willey: Have you ever heard of a case in ordinary circumstances where the authorities have waited three weeks before issuing a warrant?

Witness: It is very unusual.

Mr. Willey: Did you pay to go to the meeting?—Yes. Did other people pay?—Yes. Then they paid to be incited?—Yes.

Mr. Willey: Have you heard of children being summoned in this Court for committing crimes?—Yes. And did those children commit crimes through reading penny dreadfuls?—Yes. Have you known the publishers to be summoned for incitement?—No.

More in the Tone than the Words

In reply to a question as to whether he thought Mr. Scurr really made a militant speech, Inspector Darley said it was not so much the speech as the tone in which it was delivered. (Laughter.)

Deputy Chief Constable Handley deposed to there having been no damage to property in Leeds since Mr. Scurr's speech was made, except to two letter boxes, in one of whnch five live cartridges had been placed; these, he admitted, were no doubt the work of mischievous boys.

FOR THE DEFENCE

Mr. Willey contended that there had been no incitement, and that the speech was quite justifiable. He said the defendant had been unfairly arrested after the lapse of a month after the speech; further, that the defendant had no connection with the pillar-box outrages.

The magistrate, after a long legal argument, said: I am against you on the facts, Mr. Willey. The conclusion I have arrived at, after hearing the evidence, is that the defendant has committed a misdemeanour of the common law in inciting other people to commit indictable offences, but you may later on address me on the shorthand notes and argue anything further.

Mr. Willey: Then you give no decision to-day?

His Worship: No.

The case was adjourned sine die, defendant to enter into a recognisance not to offend in the matter pending the judgment in the Lansbury case.

Defendant was released on bail, himself in £100 and two sureties in £50 each.

BANKRUPTCY PROCEEDINGS AGAINST MR. LAWRENCE

Creditors' Meeting Adjourned Owing to Irregularity of Proxy Held by Treasury Solicitor

The first meeting of creditors under the receiving order made on May 14 against Mr. Frederick William Pethick Lawrence, of Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., was held yesterday at Bankruptcy Buildings, before Mr. W. P. Bowyer, Official Receiver.

Mr. A. T. Hare, the Treasury Solicitor, attended for Sir Charles Mathews, Director of Public Prosecutions, on whose petition the receiving order was made; Mr. W. Lowman appeared for the London County Council, creditors; and Mr. Lawrence was also present, with his solicitor, Mr. Frost, of Messrs. Ranger, Burton, and Frost.

The Official Receiver said that the only proof of debt—viz., one for £615 7s. 2d.—was lodged by Sir Charles Mathews, who had given a general proxy to Mr. A. T. Hare; but, inasmuch as under the Bankruptcy Act the only person who could hold a general proxy was a person in the regular employment of the creditor, he did not think that Mr. Hare was entitled to vote.

Mr. Hare: Nobody is in Sir Charles Mathew's regular employment. We are all servants of the Crown.

The Official Receiver: That may be so, but I am afraid it does not get over the difficulty.

Mr. Hare: I think we have given proxies in that form on other occasions.

The Official Receiver said the words of the rule under the Bankruptcy Act were quite clear. The rule set forth that a "creditor may give a general proxy to his manager or clerk or any other person in his general employment."

Mr. Hare: I am afraid there is no person who would come under that description. We are all in the common employment of the Crown, and the debt is only due to the Director of Public Prosecutions as servant of the Crown. The King is really the creditor.

The Official Receiver: Unfortunately, it is the words of the Act that you are running up against, and I must hold that you cannot vote. As the Director of Public Prosecutions is the only creditor who has proved, and your proxy is not in order, this meeting will have to be adjourned, as there is not a quorum present.

Mr. Hare said that there were a large number of creditors besides himself. There were ninety-three coming along in respect of damages by window-breaking.

The Official Receiver pointed out that these were not creditors, but only claimants, being plaintiffs in defended actions for tort.

Mr. Hare said that this might be so now, but they would be coming along as creditors very shortly.

The Official Receiver indicated that whatever the result of the actions this would not be the case, as they were not creditors at the date of the Receiving Order, and could not therefore prove in the present bankruptcy.

The Official Receiver further asked whether it would be the intention of the Director of Public Prosecutions to appoint a trustee, or to leave the matter in his hands.

Mr. Hare replied that it was proposed to leave the matter with the Official Receiver, and in this the representative of the L.C.C. also concurred.

The Official Receiver, proceeding, said that the debtor had lodged a statement of affairs which disclosed unsecured liabilities amounting to £1,001 10s. 8d. There were three creditors—viz., Sir Charles Mathews, £612 6s. 10d.; the London County Council, £206 8s. 3d.; and Barclay's Bank, £182 15s. 7d., the last being in respect of an overdraft. The claims of Sir Charles Mathews and the London County Council were in respect of successful proceedings instituted against the debtor at the Central Criminal Court, the costs of which were ordered by the Judge to be paid by the debtor and another person. These costs were partly the costs of the Director of Public Prosecutions and partly of the London County Council. On the other side of his statement the debtor returned as assets Consols of the face value of £10,000, estimated to produce £7,500. He also stated that he had "other assets"; and in the view of the Official Receiver the debtor had not complied with his statutory obligation to disclose the whole of his assets in his statement of affairs. The debtor contended that it was sufficient for him to have given information which would enable the Official Receiver or trustee to satisfy all the liabilities, and he was not prepared to do more than that. The Official Receiver believed that, when the liabilities had been paid in full, the debtor intended to apply to the Court for the annulment of the bankruptcy, and it would then be for the Court to decide whether the debtor had sufficiently fulfilled his statutory obligations. In his accounting statement the debtor had merely placed on one side his liabiliies and on the other the sum of £7,500, to be realised from the Consols, thus disclosing a surplus in assets of £6,498 9s. 4d.

Mr. Pethick Lawrence suggested that the meeting should be adjourned for half an hour in order that Sir Charles Mathews' proxy might be made effective and a resolution be passed.

Mr. Hare: I am afraid Sir Charles is not available at the moment, as he is at present in Bournemouth, and is unwell.

In the result it was decided to adjourn until June 4, there being no quorum present.

Mr. Lawrence intimated that he was defending a case in the Courts which might be reached on June 4, and asked whether it was necessary for him to attend the adjourned meeting.

The Official Receiver said that he did not propose to take any proceedings against the debtor if he did not attend.

WINDOW-BREAKING ACTION FOR DAMAGES

Application in the High Court

In the King's Bench Division last Monday, before Mr. Justice Bucknill, Mr. E. Pollock, K.C., applied that the hearing of the actions brought against Mrs. Pankhurst, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, and Miss Christabel Pankhurst in connection with the breaking of shop windows by Suffragists should be fixed for June 16.

Mr. E. Pollock, K.C., who made the application in connection with the action of the West End Clothiers Co. (Limited) against the defendants, said there was a claim for damages in consequence of the conspiracy in which plaintiffs alleged that defendants were engaged. On several occasions, particularly in November, 1911, and March, 1912, a large amount of damage was done by a number of women, and valuable windows were broken in Piccadilly, Bond Street, and other parts of the West End. It would be necessary to call a large number of witnesses, probably 100 or 150, of whom some forty would be constables and other police officers from Bow Street. In view of their public duties, it would be necessary, in arranging for their attendance, that a date should be fixed, otherwise it would be impossible for so many officers to be away from their posts. Counsel had consulted the solicitors on the other side, and defendants desired that the case should be tried at as early a date as possible. If it were in the list for Monday, June 16, it would meet the convenience of all parties.

His lordship agreed that the date suggested should be fixed, subject to an application in the event of anything happening. He added that he could fix a date, but he could not provide judges.

This is the case of which we gave particulars in our last week's issue under the title of "Second Consolidated Action." The other case to which we referred last week as the "First Consolidated Action," in which only four firms are involved, will in all probability be taken some time before June 16.

THE FIGHT OF THE WOMEN LAWYERS

The action which is to test the right of women to be admitted to the solicitors' profession had not been taken before we went to press, but was expected to come on shortly before Mr. Justice Joyce in the Chancery Division. As we stated last week, one of the four actions brought against the Law Society is to be taken as a test case to cover all the others, and Miss Bebb's has been selected for this purpose. The plaintiff, Miss Gwynneth Marjorie Bebb, is daughter of Prebendary Ll. J. M. Bebb, D.D., principal of St. David's College, Lampeter. She was educated at St. Hugh's College, and took a first-class in the law school. Her action is brought against the Law Society on account of its refusal to permit her to be examined and to enter the profession of solicitor. Her leader is Mr. Buckmaster, K.C., his junior being Mr. R. A. Wright. "The case," adds the London Correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, "will, I believe, turn largely on the construction of the Solicitors' Act."

LEFT BEHIND BY ROUMANIA!

A correspondent from Roumania writes: "It may interest you to know that women are now allowed to plead in the Law Courts in Roumania. It is only during the last few weeks that the Act has been passed."

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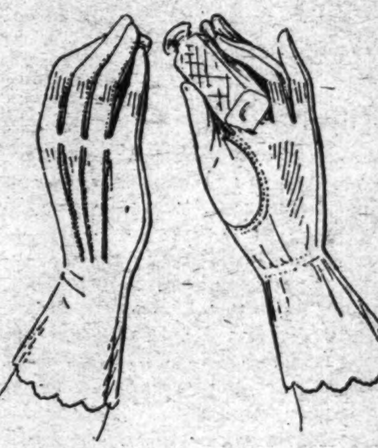

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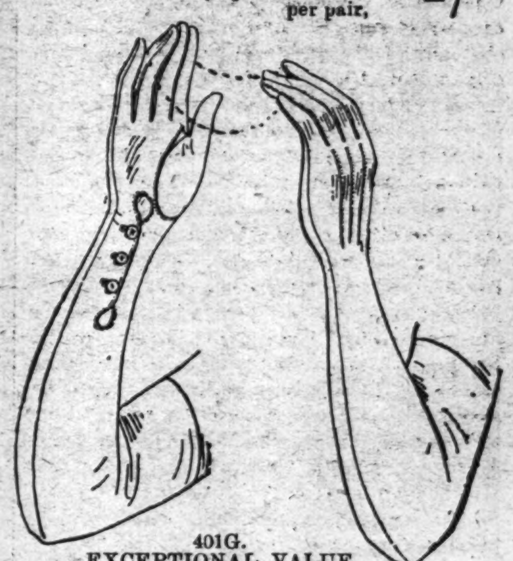

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A SUFFRAGIST'S PROTEST

Can a Woman be Locked Up by Her Father?

Last Tuesday Miss Annie Bell, a recently released victim of the Cat and Mouse Act, sued Mr. A. E. Cubison, a solicitor, and Captain George Fullerton Bell, her father, to recover damages for alleged false imprisonment. The defendants denied the allegations.

Mr. T. M. Healy, K.C., and Mr. Maurice Barnett appeared for the plaintiff; and Mr. J. F. P. Rawlinson, K.C., and Mr. Harry Dobb for the defendants.

THE PLAINTIFF'S CASE

Mr. Healy, in opening plaintiff's case, said the action was one of a very painful kind, being brought by a young lady against her father and his solicitor. The family lived at 53, Jeffreys Road, Clapham. The house and the furniture, it appeared, were the property of plaintiff's mother, who died some seven years ago. Prior to her death, he was instructed that she wrote three letters—to her husband, her daughter, and her brother—in which she stated that she wished the house and furniture to be divided between her two daughters, of whom plaintiff was one. The documents did not take the form of a will, but the husband apparently respected his wife's wish as regards the elder daughter, who was married, the father allowing her £20 a year in recognition of her rights, while when she left the house she was given a capital sum of £250. Plaintiff continued to live in the house with her father, who was willing to give her £20 a year in recognition of her rights. Plaintiff, however, did not take the money.

Miss Bell, said counsel, became involved in the movement for women's suffrage, and took what some persons might consider an extreme part in it. Counsel then related that at the end of May, 1912, on her return home after an imprisonment, her father, who had a strong objection to the extreme methods of the Suffragists, determined to give up the house, and his solicitor, Mr. Cubison, told Miss Bell she would have to leave. She replied that in equity half the house and furniture were hers. Later she asked Mr. Cubison if she would be at liberty to furnish a couple of rooms for herself; this was refused, and on June 19 Mr. Cubison wrote under power of attorney requiring her to leave the house, taking only her personal belongings, and offering her in return for an undertaking not to re-enter the premises an allowance of £8 per month. There was also a verbal condition attached that she should give up the suffrage movement. She was given till June 21 to go. On June 21 all the furniture except some in her bedroom was removed from the house, the doors were locked, the windows fastened, the water tanks emptied, and *the plaintiff was locked up in the house.* She was imprisoned until June 27, but was able through the kindness of neighbours to get in water and bread and butter through a window. On the night of June 26 the premises were entered by Mr. and Mrs. Cubison and others, and when Miss Bell went downstairs in the morning three men pushed her out of the door.

THE PLAINTIFF'S EVIDENCE

In cross-examination Miss Bell made it quite clear that her complaint was that she was imprisoned and detained in the house. Counsel for the defence made a great point of her having been found with a revolver on the occasion of her arrest last April, although she pointed out that this happened long after the events of June, 1912, and appealed to the Judge to rule it as irrelevant. His Lordship said that if it was a fact she had said on that occasion she would shoot any man who interfered with her, "people have to be rather cautious when dealing with people who say these things even if they don't mean them." At this there was laughter in Court, though throughout a close cross-examination Miss Bell's replies were clear and unwavering, and showed no evidence of being made by a person who did not weigh her words carefully.

The further hearing was adjourned till Wednesday.

WEDNESDAY'S HEARING

On Wednesday the hearing of the case was resumed. Miss Bell was further cross-examined, and witnesses were called on her behalf.

For the Defence

Mr. Rawlinson, K.C., for the defence, submitted that there was no case; but Mr. Justice Bankes said it seemed to him that if the front door was locked that would amount to imprisonment in law, but he was not sure.

Mr. Rawlinson then addressed the jury, saying there was no question that the house belonged legally to the plaintiff's father, that she was never locked in, and that she had the choice of giving up militancy and continuing to live with him, or leaving and having an allowance.

The Judgment

The jury at first failed to agree, but after further deliberation decided that the plaintiff was not locked in.

Judgment was entered for defendants with costs.

"AN UNJUST LAW"

The following letter commenting on the article by Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence in last week's **Votes for Women**, appeared in the *Yorkshire Post*:—

Sir,—In the year 1907, the year immediately preceding the Act which allows costs to the Crown in criminal cases, the Public Prosecutor appeared in 423 cases. The nature of these cases was in the main as follows:—Coining convictions, 95; murder and manslaughter prosecutions, 106; offences against the person, 43; forgery, fraud, and false pretences, 127; bankruptcy offences, 44. In other years we also get offences against the Ballot Act.

The Crown's costs in the case of offences under the Debtors' Act in connection with the Charing Cross Bank were £1,544, and the West Ham Union case cost £2,896. Until Mr. Pethick Lawrence's trial no attempt seems to have been made to visit the costs of the Crown on the defendant by any of the High Court Judges under the Act of 1908.

Why, after an Act has been inoperative for years, does the Crown press for it to be used in the one case in which the jury paid so high a tribute to the motives of the defendants? Historians will wonder why the Crown year by year dealt so gently with its 400 delinquents and then pounced on the one with high motives. The truth is, the Act is far too oppressive for general use. The public would revolt against it. In the case of Mr. Pethick Lawrence we are essentially dealing with an attempt by the Executive to suppress a revolt against their political attitude. The Executive might frankly go to the House and ask for leave to apply special measures against men and women taking part in the suffrage revolt. Instead of that, and to avoid political discussion, to avoid facing an opposition that might embarrass them by suggesting a limited franchise for women, the Executive resort to underhand oppression. They invoke the help of the Courts to put in force this Crown Costs Act, an Act that has proved too savage for general use, but which is now to be used for political trials. The precedent is bad, for by it we are resigning the liberties of the subject to the discretion of the servants of the Crown, and subjecting personal liberty to the will of Ministers.—Yours, &c., **W. Dodgson.**

4, Albion Place, Leeds, May 21, 1913.

We have received a good deal of correspondence on the same subject, and print the following selection from it:—

Dear Sir,—I have read the article called "An Unjust Law," and find it unconvincing. I think the authorities are doing the right thing in mulcting you in the cost of your prosecution and endeavouring to recover such cost by making you bankrupt.

I think myself the Government ought to make every militant Suffragette bankrupt at once, the bankruptcy to reach back to the commencement of these acts of militancy, and subject to the claims of legitimate creditors to pool the funds, and out of the common fund to make good, as far as the fund can be made available, all damage done by the miscreants, and to pay the costs of and incident to their prosecution and imprisonment.

Militants' allusions to liberators of old are ludicrous. They frequently allude to the burning of Nottingham Castle. Do they know that three of the ringleaders were hanged, that their names are unknown to fame, that there are no memorials of any kind to them in this city, and that they have never before been thought of or spoken of otherwise than as felons? Besides, what they did was done in a frenzy which soon dissipated—it formed no part of any *plan* of campaign, and they were poor, illiterate men. . . . .

For God's sake drop this foolery; it only makes you look ridiculous and injures your cause.—Yours, &c.,

Reader.

Nottingham.

[Our correspondent evidently does not realise that it was not the Suffragists, but Mr. Hobhouse, a member of the present Cabinet, who in a public speech made the first "ludicrous" allusion to the burning of Nottingham Castle and gave it as an instance of the earnestness of men Reformers.—Editors, **Votes for Women.**]

Dear Sir,—The article in question is so erroneous and illogical that I feel called upon to write and say that next to the outrages by a small but fanatical section of women agitators for the franchise, I can conceive of nothing more calculated to detract from the cause in view. If people band together to commit crime, they must be prevented and punished. Force is only excusable if a majority want a thing, and not being able to get it by other means have Force behind them.

A small section of hysterical women, who have not even persuaded their own sex, much less any majority, trying to resort to force which they have not got, only bring the movement and its supporters into ridicule if not worse.

There has never been any suppression of Free Speech provided that such speech does not incite to murder and other crimes.

Ever since Mrs. Pankhurst said that "to rush" meant "to persuade," and refusing to keep the peace said she was sent to prison for wanting a vote, the arguments by militant suffragists have been one long string of lies, mis-statements, and false logic.

That a barrister should descend to these methods is humiliating to the whole legal profession. May I ask you to publish this letter in your paper?—Yours, &c.,

A Docker.

9, Gray's Inn Square, W.C.

Dear Sir,—All you say is undoubtedly true and sound reasoning, but to my mind I have always thought as I do now, that neither you nor your intimate colleagues and supporters seem to be able to realise the depths of infamy and wickedness which are being practised with the results you so ably pointed out, and still seem to cling to the higher opinion of humanity and of the honourable principles and conduct which should, but evidently does not, actuate those in power and authority of the present day. All grievances, whether trivial or serious, must ultimately gravitate for settlement to the High Court. Delinquencies and errors of County Court Judges or Magistrates throughout the country must ultimately get there if followed up, and a very heavy responsibility rests with His Majesty's Judges for the general social peace of the country.

I never have said, and have nothing now to say against the judicial conduct of the Lord Chief, but I have said a great deal in expressing my disgust at the practice of forcible feeding, and you will remember that I did not hesitate at one of your meetings to say that I was disgusted with the doctor who ordered it, the nurses who practised it, and the judge who sanctioned it. There is no authority for this shameful practice than the *ipse dixit* of the Lord Chief Justice.

It is not likely that any movement which either directly or indirectly would result in the probable displacement of the lawyer faction in Parliament would be allowed to continue its agitation, and that some means would be found or plotted for the persecution of its leaders so as to create a feeling of disrespect in the mind of the public against them.

The power of the present lawyer Parliament in combination with the High Court Judges is too appalling for contemplation, and I have prophesied that it must bring about a revolution. Officialdom is created to such an extent and is endowed with so much power nowadays without any means of control or checking it, for experience teaches that it is useless to enter into a conflict in the Law Courts with officialdom, of which forcible feeding is an alarming example. A breach of confidence, whether in social business or official life, is always looked upon with shame and condemnation, but His Majesty's judges are under an obligation to God, whilst officials are not, and with the House of Commons as constituted at the present day, they seem to be able to deny God and rely upon the Devil.—Yours, &c.,

J. Brockett Sorrell, Jun.

3, Fenchurch Buildings, E.C.

Dear Sir,—I have done all in my power for many years in support of women's suffrage. I consider that long before this women would have had votes but for the misguided folly which has wrecked one of the best movements of the day. Consider the old fable of the traveller whom sun and wind in turn tried to divest of his cloak. Also the dictum of Daniel O'Connell, also the views of Norman Angell, and surely you must see your error in tactics.—Yours, &c., **George Jones.**

4, Elm Court, Temple, E.C.

Mr. Edwin Parr writes:—

It is appalling to find that the chosen few selected to govern these supposed civilised islands and to administer her laws should be so poorly equipped and spiritually barren in human instinct with regard to the rights properly belonging to the larger half, representing the womanhood of the race. It makes one feel sad to see such men at the political helm steering through the muddy backwaters of petty spite, hounding down and trying to financially ruin any man who is morally good and strong enough to champion the cause of women. . . . Were it not for the clear spiritual vision possessed by the comparatively few, and the burning zeal exhibited by the few good women who are ready to sacrifice their lives on behalf and for the general moral and uplifting of women, the race would soon deteriorate, and the men in the end would not be worth their salt. Nothing is more certain, from an ethical and scientific basis, than that the degrees of quality of the future race rests upon and is determined by the increased moral standard of motherhood of the present race. I think it would be difficult to find a decent man who had a bad mother.

PRESS SUPPORT OF MR. LAWRENCE'S CONTENTION

In the "New Statesman"

The bankruptcy proceedings taken against Mr. Pethick Lawrence in connection with the costs of the prosecution last year of himself, Mrs. Pankhurst, and Mrs. Lawrence have brought to light two points of undeniable injustice in the present state of the law. The first point is that under the Act of 1908 a convicted prisoner, in addition to his punishment, can be made to bear the costs of the prosecution, whilst if he is found innocent he can recover no costs from the Crown. The second point is that in a case of conspiracy any one of the defendants, if convicted, can be made to pay the costs not only of his own prosecution, but also of the prosecution of all his co-defendants. . . . This inequitable state of the law dates only from the passing of "The Costs in Criminal Cases Act" in 1908, which seems to have been an unfortunate year as regards incursions on the established rights and privileges of defendants in criminal cases in the British Courts. We had occasion only a fortnight ago to refer to the egregrious provisions of the Punishment of Incest Act, passed in the same session of Parliament. We wonder if the Liberal Publication Department includes these Acts in its "Records of Liberal Legislation."

In the "Daily Herald"

Mr. Pethick Lawrence is fighting the tyrants up to the point of bankruptcy. His case deserves on its own account the utmost attention from lovers of justice and liberty, who will find also that it has a very special interest and lesson for themselves. Many of them may be placed in much the same position. Under the one-sided and insidious Act in question it is easier for a Government to attack, and even ruin, a political opponent than it was a few years ago. . . . Of course, as Mr. Lawrence sees clearly, revolt almost invariably necessitates "illegality." One may be right from the moral and human point of view, but "wrong" from the Government's and the autocrats' point of view. Martyrs, rebels, heroes, nation-builders, "music-makers" and light-bringers of the ages have been "wrong" and "illegal" at their best and noblest. . . . His battle is therefore a vitally necessary one. It is of deep importance and interest to all rebels and fighters for justice. It throws a fierce light on a weapon and a scheme that may be utilised to a wide extent and with a sweeping effect. . . . When is this sort of thing going to stir the official Labour Party to effective life and action?

In the "Daily Citizen"

The unfettered discretion given makes the Act a weapon of persecution, and the fact that it has for the first time been put into operation against a political opponent shows how dangerous it is. Quite properly Mr. Lawrence points out that no right is given to an accused person who may be acquitted to recover his costs from the Government. If the statute had been in good faith an amendment of the criminal law, that right should surely have been conceded. A check on vexatious prosecutions is plainly needed. As it is, a man may be arrested and proceeded against on a trumpery charge which either fails on the direction of the judge to the grand jury or utterly breaks down in open court. In any event to the extent of the costs, which may be heavy, he is to all intents fined for no offence whatever. A power like that ought not to be left in the hands of the Executive without some countervailing responsibility. Either, then, the Act ought to be amended or it ought as soon as possible to be repealed.

WOMEN AND THEIR RIGHTS

To the Editors of **Votes for Women.**

Dear Editors,—I read with very great interest and profit your valuable paper, and sympathise heartily with your efforts to obtain your rights and privileges. Though we Indians are at present fallen from our high ideals as achieved by our ancient ancestors, who were once a very highly educated, prosperous and civilised race, yet we are very sorry that English statesmen and politicians, who boast of belonging to a highly civilised nation, should refuse to grant rights which are due.

The capacity of women to rule Empires and Kingdoms successfully has been proved by the example of the Empress Victoria and other Queens. If they can successfully rule Empires, the idea that they could not prove successful voters or legislators is ridiculous. May God crown your constitutional efforts is the prayer and desire of

Tahl Ram Ganga Ram.

Zamindar Dera Ismail Khan, Punjab,
India.

CARGILL'S RELEASE

Dear Editors,—In view of the re-arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst, the Home Secretary should be made to give an explanation as to why he has given an unqualified release to Edward Bucton Cargill, of York Lodge, Hessle, who was sentenced for criminally assaulting three girls under sixteen years of age. He was sentenced to nine months last February and discharged last week. A peculiar sinister expression was used by this man as told by one of the girls giving evidence. He defended himself on the plea the girl was over sixteen. The girl herself said he told her, "I am sorry you are over fourteen. I like you the younger the better." This horrible crime of assault, which rouses burning indignation, is a licensed traffic, and we who are on the private commission, know it is the little children who are being exploited, and no legislation has touched it. If every woman who reads this would demand of her member he should ask Mr. McKenna his explanation, a formidable feeling aroused in men might force the situation.—Yours, &c.,

Flora and Hugo Ames.

[Miss Beverley, the producer, and Mr. Wharncliffe, the author, of the White Slave play, has offered the Lyric Theatre, Hammersmith, free to Mrs. Hugo Ames every night from June 30 for one week to lecture on "Prevention of White Slave Traffic." It is hoped that Suffragists will support this by their presence.]

"PRIZE-WINNERS OF HISTORY"

A correspondent, writing to us in reference to the article with the above title which appeared in our issue of May 16, points out that she believes the school mentioned in the paragraph quoted from a morning paper, on which the article was founded, does not exist, and suggests that the story of the essay competition as given originally in that paper may possibly be imaginary. Our correspondent, who is familiar with the neighbourhood mentioned, knows no school of the name given in the newspaper in question. Our experience of the imagination of the Press with regard to Suffrage matters strongly inclines us to the belief that she may be right in her conjecture.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FOR THE BLIND

A correspondent writes that she has transcribed Mr. Pethick Lawrence's article in **Votes for Women** (May 16), "Why I am being made a Bankrupt," in Braille, for blind readers, and has started it on a "snowball" career, accompanied with a request that it may be re-copied in each case and passed on to another reader. "Blind readers are always glad of items of current news," writes our correspondent, who also adds that she has sent a copy of Mr. Lawrence's article in Braille to the British and Foreign Blind Association's Library in London.

The idea seems to us so admirable that we wonder if others of our readers who are acquainted with Braille will not transcribe more articles from our paper for those who are shut out from the ordinary channels through which "items of current news" can be conveyed.

AN EFFECTIVE PROTEST AGAINST PRESS MONOPOLY

A correspondent writes, enclosing a donation to the **Votes for Women** Fellowship Fund, and saying that this is her annual subscription to a monthly paper devoted to social reform, which she no longer intends to take in because of its hostility towards militant suffrage, and its erroneous views about militancy. This is an effective and practical way of protesting against Press misrepresentation, which we warmly commend to our readers.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

President—Mrs. Cecil Chapman, 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge

For the future, in each week's issue of Votes for Women, members of the N.C.S. will be able to refer to this space for news of the Society. This arrangement does not imply an agreement as to policy between the Society and the Editors of this paper, but it is hoped that it may prove mutually advantageous. By this means the head office is furnished with an excellent method of circulating its news, members can keep in close touch with the more important part of the work that their Committee is undertaking, and at the same time they will have in their hands an excellent organ for suffrage propaganda and a most reliable source of general suffrage news. Members are therefore urged not only to become regular readers of the paper themselves, but to do all in their power to extend its circulation.

The New Constitutional Society, though only some three years old, is rapidly increasing in membership and is covering a large and important field of work. Possessing both fearlessness and the power of quick decision, it is always to the front in carrying on active suffrage propaganda on constitutional lines. Abstaining from criticism of the methods of work adopted by other sections of suffragists, it carries on its work in a catholic spirit and cooperates, whenever possible, in any constitutional work of other suffragists. Throughout the present year the banner of the New Constitutional Society has been flying in Hyde Park at noon each Sunday, and excellent and sympathetic meetings have been held, despite occasional attempts at unwarrantable interference on the part of the police authorities and hooligans. The Society's speakers were present at the free speech demonstration in Trafalgar Square and again at the East End Demonstration in Victoria Park last Sunday.

Active outdoor campaigns will be continued throughout the summer.

In addition to seven London Committees, some dozen branches of the Society are now established in the provinces, and many more invitations to open new branches are received than can be dealt with on the limited funds at the disposal of the Committee.

The weekly meetings on Tuesday afternoons at Park Mansions Arcade enjoy increasing popularity, and there is urgent need for much larger accommodation than is afforded by the present offices. It has been decided, therefore, to take a large new room in the Arcade which will accommodate an audience of three hundred. In undertaking this important new development, the Committee are in need of solid financial backing from their supporters. Suffragists distinguished in many walks of life give their services as speakers at the weekly at homes. During the month of June the speakers are Mr. Aylmer Maude, Miss Gertrude Elliot, who is opening the Summer Sale on June 10, Mr. Laurence Housman, and Mrs. Pember Reeves.

While carrying on an untiring educational campaign, the N.C.S. feels that the day is long past when women should ask for their enfranchisement as a favour of politicians. They demand full citizenship of women as a right. They ask, therefore, that men and women who recognise the justice of this claim should cease to serve the different party interests, and should refuse support to the Government of the day, who are alone responsible for the continued exclusion of women from their elementary rights as citizens.

Forthcoming Events

June 1. Sunday.—Marble Arch, at noon. Mrs. Merivale Mayer, Miss McGowan.
June 2.—22, Draycott Place, S.W., 3 p.m. Lady Muir Mackenzie. "At home." Speakers: Miss Lind-af-Hageby, Miss Compton. Monologue in costume by Miss Inez Bensusan.
June 3.—"At home," 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge, 3 p.m. "Phases of our Movement," Mr. Aylmer Maude. Hostess: Mrs. Birch.
June 9.—Public meeting at Fakenham.
June 10.—Public meeting at Dereham.

TAX RESISTANCE GROWING

The number of women tax-resisters increases week by week. On May 23 Miss Davies, of St. George's Square, had goods sold subsequent to her refusal to pay taxes. On the following day goods were sold belonging to Miss Mabel Atkinson, Mrs. Dahl, Miss G. Eaton, Mrs. Fyffe, and Miss I. Moncrieff at Whiteley's Auction Rooms, after which Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, Mrs. Despard, Miss Atkinson, and Mr. Laurence Housman spoke at a large meeting in Westbourne Grove. Mrs. Arthur Tomson on the same day had goods sold at Harpenden, and Miss Honnor Moreton in London. Mrs. Cecil Chapman will have goods sold to-day (Friday).

The first manuscript chapter of "On the Face of the Waters" was sold on May 17 at Aberdovey, under distraint, for £1 7s. 5d., for income tax. Mrs. Flora Annie Steel, addressing the assembly, said that while her work had taken twenty-five years to produce, and had been proclaimed a monument to British heroism, and she had been acknowledged to have done work for the Empire, yet she was not deemed capable of voting.

The manuscript was sold for £6 to a London firm of publishers.

IRISH NEWS

IRISH WOMEN'S FRANCHISE LEAGUE

The annual report of the Irish Women's Franchise League is a fine record of constitutional work and political agitation throughout the year, and it further chronicles the fact that "the year 1912 will remain notable both for the first employment of militant protests in Ireland and for the determined effort of Irish Suffragists to obtain the inclusion of Irishwomen in the Home Rule Bill." The report, after reviewing the various activities of the League, goes on to say: "The year closes with our aim still unachieved, but its activity and its events have broken through previous Irish apathy, and the intense and understanding interest now taken in the subject of Woman Suffrage will never subside till the vote is won. There has not been a single political demonstration in Ireland at which the I.W.F.L. did not make its present effectively felt, from the historic deputation to the National Convention to the heckling of English Cabinet Ministers who addressed meetings in Ireland."

There are now twenty-three Suffrage Societies in Ireland, whereas at the inauguration of the I.W.F.L. in 1903 there was only one. Recording this fact, the report concludes with the words:—

"The fact also that the Irish Women's Franchise League remains the largest and most active of these Societies serves to uphold our contention that militant societies are native to our soil, and that Irish men and women respond most naturally to militant appeal."

IRISH POLICE NERVES

An extraordinary proceeding on the part of the police occurred recently in Dublin early one morning, when an inspector, two sergeants, and four plain-clothes detectives presented themselves at the door of the residence of an active city Suffragist at 2 a.m., and insisted on searching the house for fire-arms. The occupant protested, and asked if they had a search warrant. They admitted they had not, but insisted on entering, as they alleged that two revolver shots had been fired from the house at the constable on duty in the street. They finally forced an entry, caused those members of the household who were asleep to be roused, and made a minute search of the premises. No fire-arms were found, and the police left without offering either excuse or apology for their unwarrantable action.

It is thought that the shots heard by the constable may have been the reports of small explosions used for fighting dogs; but as the owner of the house afterwards said in an interview, the action of the police was in any case a serious interference with the liberty of the subject, and he considered it very high-handed conduct for the police to approach the house at the dead of night and force their way inside without a search warrant.

"If," he remarked, "any person residing in the house had by any accident been in possession of fire-arms for the most innocent purpose, they would have been placed in a very serious position."

For our part we can only suppose that Dublin too has its Bodkins.

MR. DILLON, M.P., AND THE DUBLIN SUFFRAGETTES

Rebellion and Militancy

Mr. John Dillon, M.P., was one of the principal witnesses in the Northern Police Court, Dublin, on May 16, when three Suffragists—Mrs. Margaret Palmer, Mrs. Dora Ryan, and Miss Annie Walsh—were charged with having, early on the preceding Sunday morning, smashed glass in the offices of the United Irish League, in Sackville Street, and at the residence of Mr. Dillon, in North Great Georges Street.

When evidence had been taken from a number of witnesses, Mr. Dillon was called by Mr. Tobias, who appeared for the police.

Mr. Dillon said early on Sunday morning he was in the front study of his house, and about a quarter past one three or four stones came rattling in quick succession against the window and made a terrible noise.

"Was the window smashed?" asked Mr. Tobias. "No," replied Mr. Dillon, "but it was badly cracked."

Did you make any effort to discover who had done it?—Oh, no.

Mr. Tobias: You turned the gas out?—I turned the gas out and went to bed.

Always Against the Vote

Mrs. Palmer, one of the defendants: You have always taken up a position of opposition to the women?

Mr. Dillon: Yes. All my life I have been against giving the Parliamentary vote to women.

And you have voted consistently all your life against the vote for women?—No, I never voted against it in my life till militancy commenced.

Therefore you have merited the opposition of Suffragists. Well, I will go to another point. Do you remember the time of the Jameson raid? It is a good while ago.

Mr. Dillon: Yes.

Did you sign a petition giving Dr. Jameson full political rights at the time?—Yes, I exerted myself in favour of it.

Did Dr. Jameson commit a crime—a crime of which you approved?—It was a rebellion. Militancy is disgraceful. I don't consider rebellion disgraceful.

As Mr. Dillon was leaving the witness-box he remarked that it was not his first time in that court. The last time he appeared there he was in the dock.

The magistrates fined each of the defendants £1, with £2 compensation, and allowed them a week to pay.

On May 24, payment not being forthcoming, the three defendants were sentenced to six weeks' ordinary imprisonment. We understand from our Irish correspondent that failing the concession of political treatment in prison, all three will adopt the hunger-strike next Monday.

SCOTTISH CHURCHES LEAGUE

Lady Frances Balfour, presiding over the annual meeting of the Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage at the Synod Hall, Edinburgh, last week, laid stress on the spiritual nature of the woman's movement, and said the ethical idea was slowly but surely emerging, and the belief was steadily gaining ground that sex should deprive no woman of her individual worth as a citizen. Several ministers spoke, testifying to the need for the woman's vote in the highest interests of all sections of the people, and also to the value of women's work in the Churches.

OXFORD UNION CREEPING UP

For the first time in the history of the Oxford Union, a Woman Suffrage resolution has been carried—by the close majority of 199 to 190. It was worded as follows: "That this House approves of Women's Suffrage," and was moved by Mr. L. F. Urwick (New College), and opposed by Mr. P. R. S. Nichols (Balliol). Mr. Israel Zangwill wound up the debate, in which Mr. M. H. Macmillan (Balliol) and Mr. A. P. Herbert (New College) also took part; and it was no doubt largely owing to Mr. Zangwill's able advocacy of the cause that the traditional opposition of the Union to it has been at last broken down.

THE ALTRINCHAM BY-ELECTION

The Manchester Men's League posted a striking bill in the Altrincham district during the recent by-election. It begins thus:—

"ENGLISHMEN! DO YOU REALISE that you belong to the only nation on earth that thrusts its women into prison by the thousand rather than grant them the most elementary of social rights?"

And it concludes with the words:—

"IT IS UN-ENGLISH to make war on women, and undemocratic to refuse them a voice in their own government. Whether by your vote or the withholding of your vote, make it clear that you support our demand for a Government Bill for

VOTES FOR WOMEN!"

IN THE PRESS

"MEN ARE MEN . . ."

Appeals to violence, whether made by Ulsterettes or suffragettes, court reaction, and the law which is applied to the one should be applied equally to the other. The militant women have at least the excuse, though it is by no means an adequate or convincing excuse, that they have not votes and no direct share in representation; but Sir Edward Carson and his followers have no excuse at all, and if they are permitted to play with fire and stir the forces of bigotry and intolerance life may be as little safe as property.—**Daily Citizen.**

NO NEARER!

It may be needful to sacrifice the lives of a few women before this fact is realised in connection with the women's suffrage agitation, but the women will not shrink from what they believe to be their duty any more than men shrank from it in the agitation of the past. Mr. McKenna can easily kill Mrs. Pankhurst. But there will be a dozen other women ready to follow her. When Mrs. Pankhurst has been killed Mr. McKenna will be no nearer the suppression of the suffragist agitation than now.—**Nottingham Guardian.**

"THE MÆNAD FURIES"

A "democratic" country is really governed nowadays by the permanent officials and the cheap Press. Yet we grant to reasonable suffragists like Mrs. Fawcett—with the Mænad furies we hold no parley—that if women are to be refused the vote many once currently accepted formulas about equal freedom are proved to leak badly.—**Church Times.**

MR. DREW'S CASE

While the Home Office disclaims any idea of stopping the publication of the *Suffragette*, Mr. Drew, of the Victoria Press, remains bound by his undertaking not to publish it nor any other document issued by the Women's Social and Political Union. It is true that the order was made with Mr. Drew's consent, but this by no means closes the matter. The question is whether the magistrate had the power to make an order to restrain the printer from printing legal matter supplied to him by persons who may have broken some particular law. Some lawyers who have looked into the matter hold the contrary view. I quite expect that the question will be raised shortly in the High Court.—**London Correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian."**

WHERE THEY HOPE TO BE KEPT?

All who value freedom of speech and liberty of the Press, however little they sympathise with recent manifestaions, must join in keeping the authorities in their place.—**Daily Citizen.**

"IT'S A LONG LANE——"

In spite of all the newspaper talk about the Suffragettes injuring their cause, Woman Suffrage is nearer to being realised in Britain than ever before. When women commit arson, destroy property, and get liberated almost immediately from jail, this circumstance shows that the British rulers dare not imprison the women for their full sentence. The temper of the British voters is turning towards votes for women.—**Cotton's Weekly**

"WOMEN DON'T WANT THE VOTE"

Already public opinion is converted to an acceptance of the principle of the women's claim. By this we do not mean that a majority of all the adults in the nation are in favour of it; we mean that if there were selected, say, the five thousand most distinguished and widely respected individuals in Great Britain, in every department of useful activity, and a canvass were conducted amongst them, we are convinced that it would show a substantial majority for some measure of Woman Suffrage. And these are by hypothesis the leaders of opinion; to doubt that the rest will follow would be to doubt all the lessons of history and the conclusions of common-sense itself.—**New Statesman.**

"WOMEN CAN'T FIGHT"

The blunder of the South African war was paid for not only by men but by women; many a poor seamstress saw her humble breakfast more scanty for that escapade of male politicians. And can it be held that, when she has to pay the taxes, a woman should have no say in the war or the law? To pretend that women—educated, intelligent, intellectual women—are ignorant of politics and so are not fit to vote, while the village tosspot who lives nearly all his day in the taproom is qualified for the poll, is to talk nonsense. Women have as much right to the vote as men, and at present are quite as much in need of it to protect their interests.—**Catholic Times.**

"IVY-LEAF" WOMEN

But the revolt in the Women's Liberal Federation is more serious than the evidences at the annual meeting indicated. Already the best women in the branches all over the country are leaving on account of this question, and the membership is being left to "ivy-leaf" women who cling helplessly to their masculine guides. Many of the most active and influential women in the national work are in revolt, and it will be no surprise to hear that they have gone on strike. The Liberal women could do enormous service at this critical stage if they would assert themselves. They could prevent such candidates as the one who is before the electors of Altrincham at the moment from being selected as Liberal candidates.—**Mr. Philip Snowden in the "Christian Commonwealth."**

"THERE'S NONE SO BLIND," &c

Yet what a bevy of Bills is before the House, each of which calls for the special attention of women. The chief of these are—the Mental Deficiency Bill, the Housing of the Working Classes, the Employment of Children, Illegitimacy and Maternity, Elementary Education for Epileptic and Defective Children, &c. Not only are women given no say in these matters, but they are forced to pay for the members who may or may not vote in a way diametrically opposed to their principles. Can any man really maintain that he does not understand the grievance?—**Wallasey News.**

COMPANY FOR ANTI-SUFFRAGISTS

In California a woman of wealth who had given a large sum to the anti-suffrage campaign was shocked, and ultimately converted to suffrage, by learning that the next largest contribution to hers had been made by a man who ran a whole chain of brothels. The people who make money out of commercialised vice are solidly opposed to votes for women. Do the anti-suffragists like their company?—**A. S. B. in the "Woman's Journal."**

SUFFRAGISTS IN PRISON

Name.	When Sentenced.	Length of Sentence.
Miss Louisa Gay	Jan. 9	8 months
Mrs. Maud Brindley	Feb. 7	5 „
Miss Jane Short	Feb. 22	6 „
Miss Margaret Macfarlane	Mar. 20	5 „
Miss Olive Hocken	April 4	4 „
Mrs. Lilian Forrester	April 23	9 „
Miss Evelyn Manesta	„	5 „
Miss Edith Hudson	May 19	9 „
Mr. Donald M'Ewan	„	„
Miss Miriam Pratt	May 21	Remanded
*Mrs. Pankhurst	April 3	3 years
Mrs. Margaret Palmer	May 26	6 weeks
Miss Dora Ryan	„	6 „
Miss Annie Walsh	„	6 „

* Released April 11 under Cat and Mouse Act, re-arrested May 26.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents are attributed in the Press to Suffragists:—

Thursday, May 22.—Six pillar-boxes attacked at Cardiff.

Letter-box in wall of Sir A. Conan Doyle's house at Crowborough attacked.

Friday, May 23.—Fire at 2 a.m. at the South Bromley Station of the North London Railway, porters' room and part of platform stairway destroyed; no clue.

Several pillar-boxes attacked at Edinburgh.

Saturday, May 24.—Supposed attempt to blow up Wheatley Hall, Doncaster, unexploded bomb and Suffrage literature found. The Hall had been unoccupied for some years.

Monday, May 26.—During Sunday night playing green of the North Oxford Cricket and Bowling Club extensively damaged by some corrosive acid.

Attempt made to blow up Elginhaugh Bridge, near Eskbank; no clue.

Letter-box attacked at St. Andrews.

Tuesday, May 27.—As an express train from Paddington passed through Reading Station small detonators and postcards marked "Votes for Women" were thrown on to the platform.

Wednesday, May 28.—Pillar-box attacked at Manchester.

◆

THE W.S.P.U. CONSPIRACY CHARGE

At the Old Bailey on Wednesday last application was made on behalf of the defendants in the W.S.P.U. conspiracy charge for an adjournment of the trial on the grounds that an immense amount of documents had to be examined. The suggestion was made that the case should be adjourned till Monday fortnight, June 16. The Solicitor-General, with whom was Mr. Bodkin and Mr. Travers Humphreys, represented the Crown. It was decided to fix the trial for Monday, June 9.

◆

THE CAT AND MOUSE ACT

Miss Elizabeth Thomson and Miss Arabella Scott, who were sentenced at Jedburgh on May 19 to nine months' imprisonment for attempting to fire the Kelso Race Stand, were released under the Cat and Mouse Act on Friday and Saturday respectively in last week, after a five days' hunger strike. Miss Scott calculates that to complete her nine months' sentence she will have to go to prison sixty-five times—that is, allowing for a five days' hunger strike on each occasion. She is sending her licence to Mr. McKenna. Miss Edith Hudson and Mr. Donald M'Ewan were also sentenced on May 19 to nine months' each for the same offence.

◆

POLICE SHORTHAND EVIDENCE

A correspondent writes:—"One of the speakers at a recent meeting in connection with the Pitman Centenary, called attention to the practice—a departure, he said, of quite recent date—of deputing police officers who write shorthand to take notes of speeches which it is expected will give ground for some criminal prosecution. The speaker, who is an expert shorthand-writer, occupying an important position, said that to be of any value whatever in criminal proceedings a shorthand note must be perfect as far as the circumstances permitted, and it must be free from any suspicion of partiality, even to the length of debarring the shorthand writer from any discretion as to what he shall take down; this is only another way of saying it must be perfect. In the speaker's opinion, the authorities had erred in thinking that a shorthand note, though not quite perfect, was better than none at all. Such a note was worse than useless. If unsuccessfully used, it might cause the breakdown of a prosecution otherwise sustainable, and the probability of its successful use in an otherwise weak prosecution constitutes a real public danger."

IN THE COURTS

Thursday, May 22.—At the City Police Court, Leeds, before Mr. H. Marshall, charged with being a disturber of the peace by inciting to violence, Mr. John Scurr. Case adjourned *sine die* pending the decision in the Court of Appeal on Mr. Lansbury's case, bail allowed.

At the Cambridge Borough Police Court, charged with setting fire to a house at Cambridge; Miss Miriam Pratt; remanded for eight days, bail refused.

Monday, May 26.—At Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Graham Campbell; charged under the Penal Servitude Act with a breach of the conditions of her licence; Mrs. Pankhurst; re-committed to Holloway Prison.

At the Manchester City Police Court; charged with conspiracy as the printer of *Suffragette*; Mr. Edgar Whiteley; adjourned until to-morrow (Saturday).

For bankruptcy proceedings and civil actions against Mr. Pethick Lawrence see page 512.

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SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.
Australian and New Zealand Voters Association,
9, Grafton Street, W.
Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.
Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.
Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.
48, Dover Street, W.
Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.
Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.
Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.
Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.
Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.
International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.
Irish League for Woman Suffrage,
Emerson Club, 19, Buckingham Street, W.C.
Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.
Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.
Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.
Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.
London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.
Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
60, West Street, Horsham.
Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage,
28, St. Paul's Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.
Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.
Munster Women's Franchise League,
83, Grand Parade, Cork.
National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
National Political League,
16, St. James' Street, S.W.
National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.
People's Suffrage Federation
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.
Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.
Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.
Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.
Suffrage Atelier
6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.
Suffrage Club.
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.
Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.
Suffragists' Vigilance League,
49, Queen Victoria Street, E.C.
Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.
Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.
Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.
Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.
Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

COMING EVENTS

The London Society for Women's Suffrage will hold a public reception at the Westminster Palace Hotel to-day (Friday) from 3.30 to 6.15 p.m. Speakers: Miss Courtney, Mrs. Rackham, and Miss Royden.

The Church League for Women's Suffrage announce a meeting in Trafalgar Square to-morrow (Saturday), at 3 p.m. The speakers will include Rev. C. Hinscliff, Lieut. Cather, R.N., Mrs. Cather, and Dr. Letitia Fairfield. Procession, 4 p.m., to St. George's, Bloomsbury, where the preacher will be the Rev. T. A. Lacey.

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union will hold a public meeting in the Essex Hall, Strand, on Monday, June 2, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Miss Evelyn Sharp, the Rev. Egerton Swann. Chair, Mrs. Mansell Moullin.

The Women's Freedom League will hold a meeting at the Portman Rooms, Baker Street, on June 2 at 8 p.m., at which Mrs. Perkins Gilman will lecture on "Assorted Sins." Tickets, 2s. 6d. and 1s., obtainable from the W. F. L. office. The League will also hold a meeting at the Portman Rooms on June 4, at 3.30 p.m.; speakers: Rev. F. M. Green and Miss Nina Boyle.

The Irish League for Woman Suffrage will hold a meeting at the Emerson Club, 19, Buckingham Street, Strand, on June 3, at 8 p.m. Speaker: Professor Bickerton.

The Actresses' Franchise League announce a meeting for women only at the Grand Hall, Criterion Restaurant, Piccadilly Circus, on June 6, at 3 p.m., when Miss Abadam will speak on "White Slaves—Supply and Demand." Chair, Miss Lena Ashwell.

The Votes for Women Fellowship will hold an open-air meeting in Hyde Park on Sunday afternoon, June 8.

DOVER CONSTITUENCY

With regard to a paragraph which appeared in the advertisement columns of last week's issue as to the representation of Dover Constituency, we are requested by the Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association to state that the sitting Unionist Member, Mr. George Wyndham, is a strong supporter of Votes for Women.

◆

THE ALL-IMPORTANT COAT AND SKIRT

Those requiring coats and skirts should bear in mind Mr. Alfred Day, ladies' tailor, 51 and 52, Park Street, Regent's Park, who this year has a very large variety of these in all materials and styles, and at all prices. There are some extremely smart striped flannel costumes from £2 12s. 6d. Special attention is given to shopping by post.—[ADVT.]

◆

QUALITY AND VALUE

A perusal of the illustrated catalogue of the Goldsmiths and Silversmiths Company—which can be obtained post free from 112, Regent Street, London, W.—convinces one that purchasers of Gem Jewellery and Gold and Silver Plate may there obtain the utmost value for their money.—[ADVT.]

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All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

JOIN THE "LEAGUE OF JUSTICE." Programme of uncompromising militancy without violence or law-breaking, to win the Vote and break up unjust monopolies. Particulars.—Hon. Organising Secretory, 2, Lyndale, Hampstead, N.W.

LONDON SOCIETY (N.U.W.S.S.).—Public Reception, Westminster Palace Hotel, May 30, 3.30-6.15. Miss Courtney (Hon. Sec., N.U.W.S.S.), Mrs. Rackham, Miss Royden.

CHURCH LEAGUE FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.—Public Meeting Trafalgar Square, Saturday, May 31, 3 p.m. Procession to S. George's, Hart Street, Bloomsbury, 4 p.m. Service 4.30. Preacher: Rev. T. A. Lacey.

FORWARD CYMRIC SUFFRAGE UNION will hold a public meeting in Essex Hall, Strand, on Monday, June 2, 8 p.m. Speakers: Miss Evelyn Sharp, Rev. Egerton Swann. Chair: Mrs. Mansell-Moullin.

THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE will hold a Public Meeting at Portman Rooms, Baker Street (entrance in Dorset Street) on Wednesday, June 4, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers: The Rev. F. M. Green (on "The Place of the Suffrage in the Woman's Movement") and others. Admission Free.

SPECIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS.

MADAME ALICE GODFREY'S Dramatic Recital at Steinway Hall, Friday, May 30, at 8.15. Tickets, 2s., 3s., 5s. Steinway Hall, and of Madame Godfrey, 2, Crossfield Road, Hampstead.

BIRTHS

CAMERON-SWAN.—On the 20th May, at Craig Bhàn, Mayfield Road, Sanderstead, to Donald and Grace Cameron-Swan, a daughter (Morna).

BOARD RESIDENCE, Etc.

ABSOLUTE Privacy, Quietude, and Refinement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, warmest, daintiest, cosiest quarters; sumptuous bedroom, with h. and c. water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights from 5s. 6d.; en pension 9s.; special terms for long stay; finest English provisions.—Manageress, 4788 Gerard.

BOARD-RESIDENCE for STUDENTS, visitors to London, and others; terms moderate; comfortable; central.—Miss Kilbey, 5, Guilford Street, Russell Square, W.C.

BRIGHTON.—A visit to "Sea-View," Victoria Road, the best tonic. Hostess, Miss Turner, W.S.P.U. Terms moderate. Outdoor sleeping accommodation if required. Nat. Tel., 1702.

BRIGHTON. — TITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. Terms from 25s.—Mrs. Gray, Member W.S.P.U.

FOLKESTONE.—"Trevarra," Bouverie Road West. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leas, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required. — Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

PARIS.—English Ladies receive Paying-Guests in comfortable house; large garden; beautiful riverside scenery; 21 minutes to centre of city.—Misses Shand, Belvedere, Chaton.

PAYING-GUEST received; invalids no objection; bathroom h. c. water; home comforts; country 'bus three times daily to Oxford.—Address L. E., Rogate, London Road, Headington, Oxford.

PRIVATE HOTEL, for Ladies only; quiet and refined; 13, St. George's Square, Westminster; bedroom, breakfast, bath, and attendance, from 4s. 6d.—Write or wire Miss Davies.

RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies.—Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day.—Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

SANDGATE (1¼ miles Folkestone); constant motor service; board-residence from 25s.; airy, comfortable home, facing sea; bath room; electric light; good plain cooking.—6, Sunnyside, Sandgate.

TO BE LET OR SOLD.

EAST COAST, YORKSHIRE. — Furnished Seaside Country Cottage; 3 bedrooms, 1 sitting-room, scullery, orchard, bathing, golf; 25s. a week; outside sanitation.—Box 376, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

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IN one of the healthiest and most beautiful Estates, on famous golf links. Picturesque and well-built houses to be let or sold. Prices from £350; rents from £32 p.a. Houses of any size to suit purchasers will be built on instalment system, under which repayments do not exceed rent. Gravel soil, main drainage and water, bracing air, golf club, residents' club, tennis, croquet, cricket, bowls, miniature rifle range, &c. 13½ miles from Bank; splendid service of trains for business men. Illustrated booklet post free.—Apply Estate Office, Department D., Gidea Park, Essex.

LARGE ROOM to Let, suitable for Meetings, At Homes, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 263, Oxford Street.

NEW FOREST.—Pretty Modern House to let; semi-detached; 2 reception rooms, 4 bedrooms, kitchen, conservatory; near Ringwood; rent £18.—Apply Grimes, Ringwood, Hants.

SWANAGE.—Modern Furnished House, open country front and back, near sea; sanitation perfect; bathroom, 2 reception, 6 bedrooms.—M., 6, Church Road, Brixton.

TWO UNFURNISHED ROOMS, top floor, one overlooking Regent's Park; low rent, quiet house; also furnished bed-sittingroom.—Apply B., Emerson Club; 19, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

WIDDINGTON, ESSEX.—Pretty thatched cottage to let, furnished; 3 bed, 2 sitting-rooms, kitchen, outhouses, stable, studio if desired.—Miss Ridley, Helenscote, Ipswich.

PROFESSIONAL & EDUCATIONAL.

ADA MOORE gives Lessons in Singing and Voice Production; diction a specialitiy.—106, Beaufort Mansions, London, S.W. West End studio. Visits Brighton weekly.

JILL DRINKWATER, A.R.C.M., late student of the Royal College of Music, teaches Pianoforte, Harmony, Counterpoint in London, Amersham, and district; prepares for the A.R.C.M., L.R.A.M., and Associated Board Examinations.—Amersham Common.

MOTOR-DRIVING and Mechanism.—Miss Addis Price personally instructs ladies in all branches; terms on application. —36, Long Acre. 'Phone 1642 Gerard.

MRS. MARY LAYTON, F.R.C.O. (Hon. Organist to the W.S.P.U.). Voice Culture for Singers and Speakers. Private Lessons in Singing. Singing Classes and Ladies' Choir. Please note change of address to "The Châlet," 2, Fulham Park Road, S.W.

TO GIRLS SEEKING A USEFUL AND ATTRACTIVE CALLING.

ANSTEY COLLEGE FOR PHYSICAL TRAINING AND HYGIENE, ERDINGTON, WARWICKSHIRE, offers a full professional training in the following subjects: Swedish Educational and Medical Gymnastics, Aesthetic Dancing, Folk Dancing, Swimming, Games, Anatomy, Hygiene, &c.

GOOD POSTS OBTAINED AFTER TRAINING.

TO SUFFRAGIST SPEAKERS.—Miss ROSA LEO, Honorary Instructor in Voice Production and Public Speaking to the W.S.P.U Speakers' Class, requests those desirous of joining her private class or taking private lessons to communicate with her by letter to 45, Ashworth Mansions, Elgin Avenue, W. Separate classes for men. Mr. Israel Zangwill writes:—"Thanks to your teachings, I spoke nearly an hour at the Albert Hall without weariness. . . . while my voice carried to every part of the hall."

SITUATIONS WANTED.

LADY, thoroughly experienced and capable, will take charge of residences and servants, &c., during absence of owners on holidays; accustomed to children; excellent references.—Box 378, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

SITUATIONS VACANT.

MOTHER'S HELP WANTED. Simple vegetarian cooking; light housework; part charge of two-year-old child; home life. —Parley, 12, Dalmeny Avenue, Camden Road, N.

WANTED. — Experienced Vegetarian Cook for large holiday party, for July and August; good wage and commission.—Apply Box 382, Votes for Women, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street.

WANTED, Working Housekeeper, immediately; active, strong, and capable; man kept; salary £25; vegetarian preferred. —Mrs. Oliver, 22, Crescent Road, Crouch End, London, N.

BUSINESS, Etc.

IF You wish to Remove, Store, or Dispose of anything, send postcard or ring up Gerrard 9188 for The London Storage Co., Westwood House, 210, High Holborn, W.C., for price and advice, free of charge. Dry rooms, extensive warehouses.

DRESSMAKING, Etc.

MADAME DE VALLOISE, Court Milliner, 18, Berners Street, has opened a Renovation Department. Hats and Dresses remodelled to look like new, at reasonable charges.

MILLINERY. — Smart and Artistic Models at moderate prices; renovations, from 5s., a speciality.—Miss Angus, Robarts and Geen, 4, Conduit Street, W.

"Simplicity is Grace."

PHYLLIS SQUIRE, CHILDREN'S ARTISTIC OUTFITTER, 17, Hanover Street, Hanover Square, London, W. Models of Party Frocks and Cloaks, Coats and Skirts, School Frocks, Gamestunics and Djibbahs a special study.

TAILOR-MADE COSTUMES. — Latest West End and Paris styles, at moderate prices. Highly recommended by members of W.S.P.U. Patterns sent on application.—H. Nelissen, Ladies' Tailor, 14, Great Titchfield Street, Oxford Street, W. (near Waring's)

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A MODEL LAUNDRY.—Family work a speciality. Dainty fabrics of every description treated with special care. Flannels and silks washed in distilled water. No chemicals used. Best labour only employed. Prompt collection; prompt deliveries.—Bullens, Cressy House Laundry, Reynolds Road, Acton Green, W.

LADIES' AND CHILDREN'S LINEN carefully washed and daintily finished by Beaven's Lavender Laundry. A trial solicited. A postcard receives prompt attention.—90, Lavender Road, Clapham Junction.

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MISS WOOD wishes to recommend her French laundress; fine lingerie a speciality.—French Laundry, 194, Elthorne Road, Hornsey Rise, N., and 10a, Cambridge Place, Paddington, W.

THE NEW GROSVENOR LAUNDRY, 55, Strafford Road, South Acton, W., undertake family work only; flannels washed in distilled water; open-air drying ground; highest class work at moderate prices. Telephone 10 Chiswick.

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ANTISEPTIC ELECTROLYSIS scientifically and effectually performed. It is the only *permanent* cure for Superfluous Hair. Highest medical references. Special terms to those engaged in teaching, clerical work, &c. Consultation free.—Miss Marion Lindsay, 35, Cambridge Place, Norfolk Square, W. Telephone: 3307 Paddington.

FACE MASSAGE and HAIR TREATMENT hygienically performed by certificated masseuses; manicure; recommended by a member, a doctor's wife.—"Iris," 124, Regent Street.

HAIR DESTROYER.—James' Depilatory instantly removes superfluous hairs from the face, neck, or arms, without injury to the skin. Of most chemists, or free from observation, post free on receipt of postal order for 1s. 3d., 2s. 9d., or 5s.—Mrs. V. James, 268, Caledonian Road, London, N.

POULTRY AND PROVISIONS.

DAINTY AFTERNOON TEA CAKES. Try our 1s. 6d. box. Carriage paid, carefully packed. Cash with order.—James Strachan, High Street, Forres, Scotland.

FISH, fresh, specially selected, best quality, carefully prepared, ready for cooking, packed and delivered, carriage paid, at prices from 1s. 6d. per 4lb parcel upwards. Cash with order.—Free Delivery Fish Supply Co., 34, Marischal Street, Aberdeen.

FRESH FISH.—Direct from Steamer. Carriage paid; cleaned and prepared for cooking; send 1s. 6d. for 4lb choice parcel.—The Quality Fish Supply Co. (Dept. K), Aberdeen.

GIVE THE FISHERMAN A CHANCE:

FRESH FISH, 4lb, 1s. 6d.; 6lb, 2s.; 9lb, 2s. 6d.; cleansed; carriage paid; lists free.—The Fisherman's Syndicate, No. 5, Pontoon, Grimsby.

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ATHEENIC UNDERWEAR is made from purest materials, guaranteed unshrinkable, and gives lasting wear. Write for patterns and buy from the makers at first cost.—Dept. S., Atheenic Mills, Hawick, Scotland.

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LADY FLUFFLES, a beautiful Dark Tabby Persian Neuter male cat; lovely white front and paws; only 15s.; good home; bargain.—Cornish, 53, Stembridge Road, Anerley.

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Six Months' Subscription, post free, 3s. 3d. (Foreign, 4s. 4d.).

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